643 Often an interdiction is attached to a king's name: a Yuhi,
[551] for instance, may not cross great rivers like the Nyabarongo (3).

[775] After his death the king becomes a sort of divinity for the people.
He has gone to Hades to join the demigods, his ancestors.

643 The king shares the supreme authority with his mother
● 644 (umugabekazi) (4). She is all-powerful, often more powerful than her son. Whoever pays homage to the king [88] must also do so to his mother. She intervenes in law proceedings and the distribution of land, herds, etc. The king and his mother together are called Abami. The continual presence of the queen mother at her son's
[608] side is essential (1) and if the king loses his mother, he will be given an official mother. The king's mother has a special name, the
[551] same as that of her son, except when the king is called Mutara; that name even the court familiars cannot give her (2). The same honors

3. River flowing into the Akanyaru which forms the boundary between Ruanda and Urundi.

4. The king's wife is called Umwamikazi or simply Muka-Rudahigwa, etc. The present King's wife is called Nyiramakomare.

1. Kankazi, mother of Rudahigwa Mutara, lives on Shyogwa Hill in Marangara. This measure was taken by the Belgian government because, remembering the disastrous role played by Nyirayuhi with Musinga, they wished to prevent the mother of the present King from exercising too great a political influence.

2. Yuhi Musinga's mother Kanjogera, bore the royal name of Nyirayuhi. Kankazi, mother of Mutara Rudahigwa, is called Nyiramavugo.

643 are paid the Mwamikazi as to her son, hand clappings repeated
644 three times (gukoma mumashyi). After the death of the Mwami (3),
his mother no longer plays any official role.

3. Or rather, as the Banyarwanda say, "When he puts on his drum," for it is forbidden to say that the King is dead.

3. The Sacred Drum

778 The origin of the Kalinga is said to go back to Ruganzu
173 Ndoli. While the latter, who was not yet king, was fighting against
the Karagwe (Uganda), the Abakongoro of Kivu attacked Ruanda and
killed the Mwami Ndahiro Chyamatara, father of Ndoli.

Returning from war, the latter stopped at Busigi (territory of Biumba), where a rich proprietor called Minyaruka presented a magnificent drum to the glorious victor.

778 The Kalinga is the very symbol of royalty (4). [89] Hung on
643 its stretched cords are the ibikondo, virile attributes of the principal
enemies vanquished and killed by the kings of Ruanda. It is also
[787] regularly sprinkled with the blood of victims sacrificed on occasions
for auguries. Truly royal honors are given to the Kalinga; it is not
made to resound but the other drums sound in its honor (1). It is

4. The Banyarwanda say, Kalinga ibuze nta Mwami (lit., the drum was burned, there is no King). This proverb must not be taken literally for, on the other hand, the people of Ruanda say, Hagum'Umwami ingoma irabazwa, (lit., find the King (important thing), the drum (unimportant thing is only wood). [89]

1. Kulamutza, "to salute (the king)." The drums are beaten every morning when the king leaves his apartments to begin his day as a public person.

778 643 placed in the hut called *rwimiringa* (lit., house of copper objects (2), [727] built inside the king's *boma*, where the war trophies are kept. The *Kalinga* is guarded night and day, for it is the emblem of the grandeur of the kings of Ruanda.

4. The Court of the Mwami

644 At Nyanza, the royal residence (*ibgami*), flocks of people of every rank come to attend court or to inform the Mwami of the affairs of their region: Bahutu or even Batwa villagers hoping to obtain some benefit from the Mwami or his mother, dignitaries of various ranks and functions, and servants of both sexes (3).

5. The Council of Ministers

645 787 In serious circumstances, such as war or famine, the Mwami is obliged to convene the great chiefs (*abatware b'intebe*) in council (*inima*). The soothsayers (*abapfuma*) then consult the oracles and

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2. *Kalinga* means "royal drum"; *Karinga* means "small copper object."

[114] 3. These duties and functions have been minutely described by the Rev. Father Pagès in his fine book, *Un Royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique* [A Hamite Kingdom in the Center of Africa] (ed. I.R.C.B. [Institut Royal Colonial Belge], Brussels, 1933). This work constitutes a veritable and priceless monument for the knowledge of Ruanda and its people. We cannot do better than suggest that the reader refer to it for everything concerning the organization of the Royal Court.

645 787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90]

6. The Intore

644 861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

644 292 At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and [535] others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

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1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

766 dared reveal what he had seen.

The summit of Rutare Hill is crowned with trees, [96] the remains of an ancient forest. The cemetery of the kings and queens can be found there. The abanyamugogo build a hut there, dig a grave, and bury the king and his weapons in it. The hut is closed with beams and surrounded by a thorny enclosure to keep wild ani-
[767] mals out. Quite near-by, the watchers build themselves dwellings where they live for two years and are fed during this time by the people of the neighborhood. Then they return home after going through Nyanza where they are showered with gifts, But the Mwami may not see them for he would die during the year if he caught sight of those who have watched over and carried his father's body. For the same reason the abiru who have accompanied them to Rutare may never return to the court of Nyanza. The belief also exists that from
[825] the right shoulder of the dead Mwami there issues a worm (urunyo) which, if placed in a pitcher of milk, will grow and become a leopard that kills only those who are wicked and unjust,

When the Mwami dies all work stops for eight days. For two months the bulls are removed from the herds and the king's children may not have any marital relations. Although they are under no obligation to do so, the Banyarwanda behave in the same way.

The death of the Umugabekazi [king's mother] calls for the same ceremonies and the same interdictions, but they are somewhat simplified.

9. Succession to the Throne

643 The king of Ruanda always belongs to the family of the
[614] Abanyiginya. His wives (1) are mostly chosen from the clans of the Abega and the Abakono.

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278 believe that this potion will kill whoever does not speak the truth or reveals a state secret (cf. also Procedure, Pp. 104 and 105).

● [644] 1. The king may have four legitimate wives whose children are the only ones who, in theory, can succeed him; he can have as many concubines as he wishes.

643 Sometimes the reigning sovereign can openly designate [97] even one of his youngest sons as heir. This happens when the soothsayers recognize him as being a "magic" king, with the mission of overcoming, for example, an epidemic (Umwami w'imitsindo). Thus Rwabugiri conferred power on his eldest son Rutalindwa, who took the name of Mibambwe, only for the duration of Musinga's minority.

Usually the name of the king's successor is secretly indicated by the king to the abiru, who then proclaim the one chosen.

669 643 As the law of primogeniture does not exist, palace revolutions frequently occur on the death of kings. There are disputes between royal wives who have male children, especially when the wives belong to powerful families, in order to raise themselves and their sons to supreme power and to be able to bestow on members of their family high positions, land, and herds. It was this kind of revolution that, soon after the death of Rwabugiri, overthrew Mibamwe and gave Ruanda to Musinga and his mother Kanjogera.

10. Accession of the King

643 Two days after the death of the Mwami, his successor is proclaimed king by the guardians of the customs. After two months of mourning, all the great and small chiefs and their abagaragu go to Nyanza. The Inyambo are also brought there. For two days the most unbridled joy is given free rein amidst drinking, dancing, and games. The new king shows himself to the people in formal garments, his forehead bound with a crown composed of strings of white beads (ikamba or igisingo) falling over his face, and he receives from his subjects, as a gift of accession, some indabukirano. Then the people go back to their homes and the new reign begins.

643 644 If the son of the deceased is too young to actually reign [98], the mother and usually the maternal uncles of the young prince act as regents (1). Similarly the Umugabekazi participates in the

1. We should point out however that Ruganzu Bwimba, before setting out on an expedition against the people of

meetings of the Council of Ministers until her son is about fifteen years old, an age at which he can exercise supreme authority. Formerly, the Mwami's maternal uncles, taking advantage of his youth and their own privileged position, would often have recourse to violence and trickery in order to increase their provinces and their herds.

11. Political Divisions

631 The characteristic traits of feudalism are found in Ruanda. The dispersion of authority and property and the Mwami's bestowing on his subjects benefits and commands that are always revocable, result in great uncertainty for everyone and permit the king to establish his domination firmly over the country.

635 631 Ruanda is divided into provinces (intara) placed under the command of a single chief (umutware w'intebe) (2). There are exceptions to this rule. In Bgishaza, for example, two different chiefs are placed under the orders of the umutware w'intebe, the umutware w'ubutaka who exerts his authority over the lands and the Bahutu, and the umutware w'umukenke who governs the pastures, the herds, and the Batutsi. The abatware are appointed by the Mwami. They do not necessarily belong to the first families of the country. An average Mututsi or even a Muhutu may become a chief, thanks to royal favor that rewards his intelligence and devotion. [99]

635 701 In the past, at the time of the wars, the Mwami's abapfumu chose from among the abatware w'intebe the umugabe w'ingabo (chief of the army). When peace was concluded, the latter remained what he had been before.

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644 643 Gissaka, a war in which he was killed, had designated as regent of his son Kyilima Rugwe, an Umunyginya called Chyenge, and not one of his brothers-in-law.

2. Intebe, stool-seat.

563 they are reminded daily in living with the two other higher 157 classes of the population. Under this social pressure, their natural talent has been turned into cunning and craftiness. However, the Forest Batwa are quite proficient in these arts also.

563 Being shrewd and realizing their position fully, the Batwa are friendly toward the Batussi, whereas they regard the Bahutu agriculturalists who destroy the forest with fire and axe as the robbers of their freedom, and this is the case both in Ruanda and in Urundi. Just as in Ruanda King Musinga himself keeps an [641] entire settlement of Batwa at his court in Nyanza, preferring to entrust the protection of his person and the maintenance of order to these pariahs hostile to the Bahutu, so also in Urundi most of the Batwa are to be found near the residences of the chief where they find work and a livelihood in the service of the Batussi more easily than anywhere else except among the Bahutu. This is a symbiosis of the two numerically weaker population elements against the subjugated Bahutu, a people who number millions, within which both groups derive advantage.

The over-all character of the Barundi is provided by the large mass of the Bahutu, for although the Batussi are in fact the most striking members of the population because of their external appearance and their ruling position, they are too much in the minority, and in the majority of customs and external forms of culture they have assimilated with the Bahutu. Mentally, however, they are quite different from the Bahutu.

157 Like all Bantu, the Muhutu is by nature intelligent and has a lively, sanguine temperament. This original trait is apparent in Urundi and in Ruanda wherever the hand of the Batussi rulers does not weigh upon them too heavily, i.e., more so in Urundi where the rule of the Batussi has never been as despotic as in Ruanda, and, in Urundi, most of all in the northwestern region, independent of the kingdom, where the chief, Kilima, is himself a Bantu or of mixed blood (see pp. 162, 168, 188 [these pages not translated]), and also in the far south and in the lowland areas of Lake Tanganyika and the Ruzizi River. The mental agility, loud speech and lively gestures of the Bahutu are nowhere as noticeable in Urundi as there in the

241 beginning of the cultivation of the fields as soon as the rainy
782 season has started. This is done after he and his sorcerers (abafumu) have practiced a number of ceremonies and have
[776] offered sacrifices to the principal god, Imana, the fertility god. The order of the head chief is passed on by the subchief to the lower batwale who again pass it on to the Bahutu. The Bahutu also offer small gifts to the god. When they begin to till the field, a sorcerer (umufumu) dances in front of them on the first day, shouting and gesticulating, to banish the evil spirits and to bless the seed.

241 According to Father Gassldinger the consecration of the
782 fields takes a somewhat different form in central Urundi
796 (Mujaga). At the beginning of the rainy season, after the high grass has been cut down and dug into the topsoil with hoes, work is started with a ceremony that is supposed to bring the blessing of Kiranga. [58] The men, painted yellow and red, line up with their hoes on the field which is to be tilled. Kiranga with two escorts (ivisjego) sits on the side of the field. A girl who is painted and richly adorned stands in front of the men in the center of the field. She now begins to jump, dance, and sing while cutting the high grass with her sickle. Still singing, she asks Kiranga for a successful sowing and curses the sorcerers and witches who might want to harm the field. The men promise her ample gifts of beer for the summer. The men walk slowly behind her turning the soil over with their hoes which they strike rhythmically into the ground. Depending on the type of seed, Kiranga is invoked by a particular name: Njamurimi when sorghum is sown, Njabaschi for peanuts, Rumambo for corn, etc. (No. 45, p. 316).

782 The heir presumptive to the throne of the king is believed
241 to hold in his clenched fist at birth a grain of seed of each of the
[144] crops of Urundi. If the corn or sorghum in a field has been dashed to the ground by hail or a cloudburst, the Muhutu who cultivated the plot runs around the field with a cattle bell, and by its noisy clanging he reminds the god to whom he has made sacrifices of his duty to protect the field from evil spirits. If this clanging of the bell is done properly, the crops lying on the ground will raise themselves to an upright position.

642 number of the leading men of the country had become more or less independent of the king. As we shall see in the historical survey (p. 166 [not translated]), the government recognized the independence of a few of these chiefs after the death of old King Kisabo. Even there, however, the people still regard the distant king -- who it is true has become almost a phantom for them -- as the supreme authority of the realm in many respects, especially in religious matters.

Theoretically, the king is the absolute ruler of all of 643 Urundi. Whoever does not submit to him is a renegade and a revolutionary. In the last analysis this claim to royal supremacy is founded on the fact that the king is descended from the old ruling family, the Baganwa, and is regarded and revered as an almost divine being. In this capacity he is the head of the national religion and the religious head of the nation, regardless of the personal characteristics of the king who is ruling at any one time. If, in addition to the religious respect which he enjoys, the king is prudent and strong-willed, as the bearer of the "crown" he will have no difficulty in enforcing his claim to be the sole ruler in the whole of Urundi. This is proved by the history of Urundi.

In both Urundi and Ruanda, also in Ufipa (No. 47, p. 29), the official title of the king is umwami, i.e., he who rose to authority. The Urundi king is also referred to as the njen' ingoma, the possessor of the (holy) drum, or as umvijéji, father, master.

644 The person closest to the king is the umufumu w'umwami, [793] the "house chaplain," high priest. Generally he is a highly intelligent man who in all cases is attached to the semidivine king and who also is the first to advise him in mundane matters. [791] A "court kiranga," a chief magician or sorcerer, assists the high priest. Among the officials of the court, there are masters of the kitchen, butchers, firewood keepers, stable masters, water suppliers, cow milkers, night watchmen, the bodyguard, and others. As far as political personalities are concerned, there are in the entourage of the king representatives of the great head men, the governors of the provinces, just as at the court of Musinga of Ruanda. Here, as well as in Ruanda, it is often the governors themselves who temporarily or permanently are drawn

644 to the royal court because, due to some suspicion or other, the
king wants to have them near him and under his supervision.
In Urundi these provincial governors are almost without
635 exception members of the royal family (abaganwa) or of one of
565 the kin groups of the high Bahima nobility related to the king
by marriage (see pp. 91, 101 also p. 182 of original text
[not translated]). However, in the subdistricts of the provinces
634 ordinary Batussi are appointed as government officials (abatware
or batwale). Sometimes, especially in the southeast, there
are also Bahutu serving as batwale. This office is hereditary
within the appointed families, but the king may annul the
succession by inheritance of a son after the death of a mutwale.
Also, he may appoint a new mutwale any time he pleases
(No. 19, p. 267).

631 The same organization of officialdom also exists in
614 Ruanda. Similarly, in Ankole the entire country is divided
[635] among nine governors or high batwale responsible to the king.
There they carry the title Bakungu and are all members of the
royal clan, [89] Abahinda. Each Mukungu has several district
[634] chiefs under him. However, these are all representatives of
Bahima clans and each of them is elected by his clan which
means that he is the eldest of the clan. These men have petty
jurisdiction over their clan members, while disputes between
different clans are decided by the Mukungu. The office of
[635] Mukungu is hereditary. (No. 27, p. 98.)

In Urundi, however, the monarchy is not, or not yet, as
643 well founded as in Ruanda (King Musinga). The cause for this
614 may be found, above all, in the much stronger spirit of independence of the Barundi and in the still very strong clan organization of the Batussi and the Bahutu. However, the kings of Urundi and their powerful kin group, the Baganwa clan, have managed in the last two decades to have almost all the clan elders in the country, who formerly had a free hand, replaced by officials and vassals of the king who back up his absolute power.

768 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's
736 family and provide for their widowed mother. However, childless
widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or
by begging.

The position of women is higher and the esteem in which
562 they are held is greater than among most other East African
593 Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned,
the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the husband.
Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the
[462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the
fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to
the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with
all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the
wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the
children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is
also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found
among any other East African people -- that husband and wife
[264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the
northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier husbands,
a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live
there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications],
1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the
mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their
opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an exception
562 here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and
the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by
inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among
the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded
[644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her
entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of respect
which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states
as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the
proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with
work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family
council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is monogamous. They
are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one
wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

794 the fraternity of the ababandwa existed long before the historical
575 Riangombe. It is most probably an extremely old element
171 of Negro religion in East Africa which has been preserved in its
pure form in Urundi, Uha, Ruanda, Karagwe, the eastern
Congo (Bunjabungu) (No. 44, p. 291), and in a degenerate
form in Unjamwesi and Ussumbwa. Many parallels to it can be
found in the secret societies of the Bantu and Sudan Negroes
of Loango, the Cameroons, Togo, the Gold Coast, etc. According
794 to van der Burgt, the Kubandwa cult in Urundi is part
575 of the Bantu religion of the Bahutu and has been taken over
114 by the Batussi. However, the king may not participate in the
cult while the Batwa are very dedicated to it, particularly to
that of Kiranga. In his dictionary van der Burgt defines the
ababandwa as a "société religieuse et secrèt" (No. 19, pp.
220, 463), but according to a more recent written communication
he regards the Kubandwa not as a real "secret society" but
as a gathering for a mysterious cult act to which not everyone
is admitted, for example, children. Captain von Langenn,
however, regards it as a religious secret society in which old
sorcerers play the leading role; admission to it follows special
ceremonies. Missionary Johanssen, too, describes the
analogous institution in Ruanda as a "society of the initiated or
of mediums" who are in contact with the world of the spirits
and join Riangombe after their death, in contrast to the laymen,
the insigo, who are excluded from this community (No. 39,
p. 96). Father van Thiel likewise refers to the initiated persons
of the Kubandwa cult in east Ussuwi as a "société secrète"
whose leader is the sorcerer (No. 24, p. 49).

[793] In Ruanda a high priest (kiranga) is the head of the
794 ababandwa. He is appointed by the king, but he may also be
● 644 dismissed by him. In Ruanda the king appoints the mpara as his
575 assistants. They are a group of ababandwa who enjoy the
privilege of offering their sacrifices to Riangombe in the kraal
of the king. It is noteworthy that they are all Bahutu. This
is probably a concession to the old Bantu origin of the Kubandwa
cult. These mpara, in addition to the Batwa who live at the
king's court (see p. 13), are the bodyguards and the "guardians
of the royal sleep," and much confidence is placed in them
(No. 44, p. 292).

631 These in turn would select their own assistants, who became "hill chiefs." The great chiefs, although they owned a number of dwellings in their respective districts, seldom lived among their people.

[662] Ever surrounded by jealous and often malevolent rivals, they were exposed to intrigues. Espionage and delation were endemic at court. This is why the great dignitaries remained by the king's side in order to guard against all eventualities.

643 Hamitic royalty, once it became powerful, immediately acquired great brilliance. United under a single scepter, the Banyarwanda became one of the best-organized Negro peoples and spread beyond their natural boundaries to defeat and subject to tribute the enemy nations around them. The union of the Bahutu clans took place thanks to the increasingly centralized administrative organization of the new inhabitants.

The Hamitic kings never lost the simplicity of their ancient mores. They kept up their interest in their herds of cattle, which they regularly asked to see, and they would ask and remember the names and genealogy of the animals. On the battlefields they were hardly distinguishable from their warriors, whose outfit and weapons they wore: a mere goatskin around the loins, a spear, a bow and arrows.

In peacetime, however, etiquette would elevate the monarch ● 644 and isolate him from his subjects. One could not visit him without asking for an audience and being announced first. This was so at least as far as common people were concerned, for dignitaries and favorites acted with greater freedom and even took certain liberties. According to court protocol, one had /39/ to clap hands (gukom' amashi) when appearing before the monarch.

The "lords" would throng around him to fill out the government offices and to make up the court (1). Not only were princes of royal

1. "The Hamitic Court!" In dealing with the persons and times whose history we are describing, one must not think of the courts established in civilized countries. The Batutsi Court does not

644 resemble them much. It would be difficult, however, to call by another word the group of personages and servants who make up the entourage, followers, and retinue of these African potentates.

blood and dignitaries for the most part of Hamitic race and blood admitted to the court, but so were men whom the king introduced there directly. Among them were found, although in small numbers, commoners, foreigners, and even more rarely some Batwa whose status had been raised on account of their services or their skill in sorcery.

It was an art to arrive and to remain for them all.

644 662 The king inspired in his entourage a very humble respect mixed with a constant fear. Uncertainty as to what his dignified but slightly haughty manner held in store for them constantly worried these ambitious people.

They would, therefore, watch with apprehension the changes on his august face, which occasionally betrayed his most intimate feelings and his most sudden decisions, although most often it remained inscrutable.

A quick flash of wrath in his eyes portended disgrace and possibly death. A bright smile on his austere face caused radiant hopes to blossom.

These abrupt and capricious changes, which might dispose of one's future or even of one's life, constantly held souls in suspense between fear that makes one shudder and peace as refreshing as a breath of fresh air.

Yet, although one lived in anxious uncertainty, one tried to reassure oneself by saying that the king was too just to ignore virtue and honesty. . . . Although this integrity of the heart as expressed by words /40/ could strengthen the position of a courtier who had already arrived, however, how could it suffice to single out the aspiring courtier, whose qualities were hardly known as yet? In order to succeed, to find a patron willing to introduce a novice and sufficiently

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enterprising to draw the king's glance and heart toward him, it was sometimes necessary to arouse and maintain the protector's interest by way of attentions which might be more or less discreet, but which were always significant.

The gift you are offered broadens the path.
And leads you to the presence of the great.

When fortune was slow to smile, this was no cause for discouragement. There is an art of knowing how to wait.

But waiting does not mean inaction. A besieged city always ends up surrendering. One must undertake the siege of the king (1).

1. "La Cour royale et les classes sociales au temps de David et de Solomon /The Royal Court and Social Classes at the Time of David and Solomon/," by Louis Desnoyers. (Correspondant, July 25, 1927.)

Patience costs ambitious people nothing, no matter how eager they may be to reach their goal. The chief occupation of the great and the parvenu was to dabble in politics, to plot intrigues, to flatter the king, and to increase their personal wealth. They owned lands and cattle, which they managed with care.

They followed the king on his moves so as not to lose his favor, so as to ward off the maneuvers of their enemies and profit from the crumbs that might fall from the royal table.

They would all make their way to the monarch, jolt each other to be near him and to have a choice place at his side.

Not one of them wished to leave.

They wanted to live at the capital, under the eyes of the master who dealt out influence and promotion. Court life and gossip were filled with the intrigues of the envious, with rivalries, "the bitter competition for power, the plots to win and keep favor, /41/ the treacherous insinuations of enemies who harried one another with hatred and decency /sic/, the brutal passions satisfied at any cost,"

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662 with flagrant disgraces and the official executions that sometimes resulted from them.

People became madly infatuated with everything abnormal or enigmatic, with the predictions of sorcerers, with ghosts, crimes, sudden or mysterious death.

And since the regular court attendants had a thorough knowledge of their neighbors' genealogy, past, history, acquaintances, and interests, it is easy to guess that the daily chronicle also concerned private quarrels, bereavements, marriages, and births. This was the usual pabulum of conversation. Similar in this respect to a certain French king who associated largely with lowly people, fortunetellers, astrologists, apothecaries, wig makers, and even the executioner, the Hamitic monarch also liked to surround himself with master cooks, archiaters, healers, magicians, and charlatans of all sorts to whom he occasionally distributed honors and appointments (1).

1. Some striking examples of those royal favors are known. Some subjects in most humble circumstances managed to obtain the hand of a Hamitic princess and to be raised to noble rank.

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661 One can easily imagine what the royal administration was like under the circumstances. No desire to encourage the arts, to favor agriculture, to improve the people's condition. The rights of the people exist theoretically, but they are regulated by no organic text and are too often dependent on the whims of royal and local power.

Infatuated with their own glory and exclusively preoccupied with their own pleasure, the sovereigns had no ambition other than to raise their prestige and to enjoy life.

The kings did not resemble one another from one reign to the next.

A warrior would succeed a peaceful man. Some, cruel and brutal, had the bloody whims and disordered passions of despots and degenerates. Others, of /42/ simpler tastes, led a peaceful existence and allowed the people to breathe.

643 One hears of sovereigns who liked and practiced the "things
661 of the mind," such as Yuhi-Mazimpaka, whose literary output is still highly prized by Black intellectuals.

The king's wives and concubines lived away from the court.
● 644 "Either he had noticed their beauty himself..., or their charms had been brought to his attention by the great who were sure to please him in so doing."

Among the reasons for the profusion of wives in the sovereign's harem, "the yearnings of the heart and the demands of the senses both played their part" above all else. Many a prince surrendered without restraint to voluptuous activities. Yet one hears of some romances adorned with the charms of literature which may actually have taken place.

842 It must be admitted in all fairness that a powerful idea presided over the establishment of the family among the Hamites. Like the Hebrews and so many other ancient peoples, the Batutsi regarded large numbers of children, and especially sons, as an honor, a glory, and a source of strength. They considered themselves fortunate if they could watch the growth of their children and their children's children to the third and fourth generations.

A large progeny seemed to them a sure guarantee for the future
595 of their race. Let us add that peace could not reign in their homes.
578 For among the legitimate wives, there was almost invariably a favorite. "Competing among themselves, competing for their children, they drove the latter to rivalry, and the husband, following his preferences or giving way to his weakness, did not always share equitably his heart, his favors, and his goods." (1) /43/

1. The loved wife is called nkundwakazi, the hated wife mbikazi. A rival is called mukeba or umugore w'ishyari, that is to say, literally, "jealously woman /or wife/."

595 One can easily imagine the troubles and conflicts caused by an excessive number of wives and children.

The history of the Hamitic princes of Ruanda contains "pages soiled and as if bloodied by the tale of passions which set them one against the other and which, unleashed with brutal violence," eventually gave rise to tragedies and palace revolutions. Family unity and family spirit have never gained anything from polygamy. The history of the Hamites of Ruanda is here to prove and confirm this.

The king's mother held first place among the harem princesses,
644 and reigned along with her son. She was "shown the most respectful
consideration, and whoever wished to obtain some favor from the
monarch had no better recourse than to see her first."

It has been said that a people must be well disciplined in
157 order to grow prosperous and powerful. The Hamites' strength resided
643 in their courage and organization.

Those who know the Hamites cannot but admire among their qualities perseverance in an undertaking and obedience to chiefs. One must recognize in these political and diplomatic beings, and this is to their credit, a thorough self-possession and great calmness. As true leaders, they rarely give way to anger, and their violent feelings rarely show.

Their apprenticeship to life begins early.

868 From childhood on, indeed, the young Batutsi devote themselves to real exercises in sports, under the supervision of the Mwami or of the great chiefs. They practice endurance and bravely bear the fatigue of the lengthy and frequent exercises of guhamiriza (dances indigenous to the Batutsi). For many years they remain as pages (intore) in the service of the Mwami or of the provincial governors, in order to be trained to life and to win the favors of currently powerful figures. /44/

643 173 551 action. "Ruganzu" is a war name, and so is "Kigeri." Ruganzu II Ndori, as recounted by one tradition, had suffered so much (*yari yarushye chyane*) that in order to spare his successors as much as possible of the anxieties, sorrows, and fatigue he had endured, he demanded that his name of "Ruganzu" should vanish forever with him into the grave. He thought that he would reduce thereby the number of future wars. The titles of "mutara" and "Yuhi" commit to peace those to whom they are given, who are not permitted to cross rivers (*ntibambuk' uruzi*). To break this "taboo" would make them and their realm subject to great misfortunes.

701 Thus, it was not Mutara himself who conquered the Gissaka. In case of a necessary war or expedition, the sovereign appoints two generals, one of whom (*umugabe*) has command of military operations while the other holds a mere honorary rank. He is said to exercise an occult and magic influence over the opponents, who cannot fail to be conquered if he fulfills his role properly. In the course of his expeditions, Lwabugiri always had at his side one of those generals with superstitious functions. They are called *Abagaba*.

Book IV

(First Fascicle)

The Royal Court

(Its Posts, Privileges, Mores, and Customs)

644 /348/ The object of the present study is the organization of the royal court, its posts and offices, its customs and festivals (1).

1. In order to designate the court and capital as they are here and now, the Banyarwanda use the word

644 *ibgami*, "at the king's." In speaking of the ancient royal residences, they use the noun *umurwa*, plural *imirwa*, or else *ikigabiro*, plural *ibigabiro*. As for the term *umuhango* (plural *imihango*), it signifies "mores, customs, traditions," hence the name *Abanyamihango* given to the "keepers of the customs."

[642] We remind the reader that the native government is an absolute and hereditary monarchy.

643 The sovereign is master of the land and all it contains; he deals
with the life and goods of his subjects as he pleases. Until recently
his power knew no bounds of any sort and was wholly dependent upon
[776] his whims or good will. *Imana* (God) was no more powerful than he.
Any attempt to draw a comparison between the two was formerly
[687] regarded as a crime of high treason. God and the King could, at
best, be one and the same person.

641 The subjects, therefore, tended to be regarded as things from which to draw as much pleasure and well-being as possible.

Their own worth and usefulness were assessed and measured
only with reference to the king. Let us add that the welfare of the
kingdom, although it was not disregarded, could only come second
in the thoughts of the king. Prior to the arrival of the Europeans,
644 the dignitaries of the realm to whom the king assigned the government
of the provinces were compelled to spend most of their time at court.
The Hamitic princes were very eager to keep the nobility close to
them. They were always on the alert and daily surveyed the lords and
courtiers who surrounded them (2). The latter belong /349/ almost

2. From Saint Simon we learn that the situation was the same under Louis XIV. "It is a demerit

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> for the most distinguished courtiers," he says, "not to make of the court their daily abode, and for the others to appear there only rarely. It is a sure disgrace for anyone to fail completely or almost completely to appear."

entirely to the noble and conquering Batutsi group. They are lords and courtiers, and they too live only for the king, his service, and his pleasure. In those territories lying under their jurisdiction the Batutsi, in turn, exercised the same powers as the monarch. The disadvantages and excesses of such an autocratic system are easy to imagine. The gift of government cannot be denied, however, to the Batutsi and their princes. They have had at all times an aptitude for organization and administration. Within a short period of time, thanks to their subtlety and talent, they succeeded in building a single kingdom upon the ruins of some 50 autonomous principalities, and in lending it stability.

Nyanza is the name of the present capital in the Nduga province. It is made up of a vast agglomeration of huts which stand apart from each other.

The group formed by the aggregate of royal huts is by far the most important. There live the king, the queen mother, and their servants (1). The chiefs are settled in the vicinity. So as not to

> 1. With rare exceptions the royal wives have little influence. They are rarely mentioned. Their august spouse may cast them away at the slightest whim.

offend the sensibilities of the king, they must see to it that their huts and courtyards are of modest dimensions. The other inhabitants, who are gathered all around, are there only for His Majesty's sake. The capital may thus be compared to a vast beehive where the jobs are

644 varied and numerous but all aimed at a single end, the service and entertainment of the king.

"The capital is filled, populated, and occupied for the sake of the life of a single man. It is but a royal residence, set up exclusively to attend to the needs, pleasures, service, protection, entertainment, and display of the king." (Taine.) "The king's household contains a veritable /350/ multitude of servants divided into various departments under the orders of high officials (Seignobos)." These two quotations, which refer to Versailles, may be applied to Nyanza and the court of Musinga if due allowances are made.

The operation of those departments regarded as indispensable to the life of the court demands an extensive staff that would fill a telephone directory. Lord of the Palace, Chief of the "Mouth" Department, Majordomo, High Keeper of the Treasure, High Cup Bearer or Butler, ushers, pages, chamberlains, valets, Keepers of the Wardrobe, physicians or rather quacks, etc., all have their equivalent at the court of His Black Majesty.

644 344 Of course, one must not imagine a Versailles with its delightful gardens. Musinga's royal residence consists of a vast enclosure of ficus trees and woven rushes and reeds. Its main opening is one meter wide. Toward the front, some 30 paces from the entrance, stands the large royal hut of branches and thatch.

It is dark inside. As in all local huts, light enters only through the door.

A multitude of wooden pillars rise within to support the roof. Along the inner walls stand a row of cubicles closed by large screens of artistically braided local rushes. The hearth lies in the center of the floor, protected by a sort of large clay rosette. This is the main hall, where only Europeans and courtiers are admitted. It also serves as bedroom to the king and his mother.

The vast enclosure is divided into several courtyards in which stand the huts of the queen mother, her daughters-in-law, and their male and female followers. Within the enclosure, here and there, stand the hut where the palladium-drum is kept, the one where the sacred fire is preserved, and the numerous huts dedicated to the shades of the royal /ancestors/.

644 [343] One sees standing about what seem to be huge baskets covered with thatch roofs. They are granaries where the food of the employees is kept. The storeroom is the king's favorite spot. He takes pleasure in hoarding there the most disparate objects: fabrics, crockery, furniture, and trinkets of all sorts. It is said that it gives him infinite [157] pleasure to survey his "bazaar" and to handle the goods piece by piece, away from all prying eyes.

It is easy to imagine the life and bustle that prevail at court and in the capital.

The entire nation dwells in the person of the king. He alone represents it. Since the State is identified with the king, he alone is eternally mentioned. "Everything is done for his sake. Justice is the king's justice, troops are the king's army, the nobility fights for him. . . . The monarch is absolute master and naturally has full and complete command over the property owned by his subjects, and when he takes it he is only taking what belongs to him. . . . Whoever is born a subject must obey without question. . . . "

This short account of the history of Louis XIV's reign fittingly describes the rights exercised by the Hamitic kings of Ruanda. As a result of this concept and attitude on the part of the Blacks, nearly all the clans or family groups which make up the population of Ruanda have a role to fulfill at court, not so much for the welfare of the realm as for the pleasure of the king. The functions they must exercise are many and vary with the nature of the people involved and the products of the soil on which they live. Some of the posts derive from historical circumstances. Among these offices, some are regarded as an honor and privilege and others as a chore. Some offices are also assigned as punishment or /352/ revenge for misdeeds which were committed in the past by ancestors and the very memory of which has been lost. Most of those posts amount to actual bondage for their holders.

Positions of a mere utilitarian nature are by far the most numerous.

644 538 It is surprising to hear that literary pleasures and entertainments are included in the court program and even stand in a separate category. By the sovereign's side, indeed, there stand official historians and

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appointed bards (abachurabgenge), as well as literary jousters or men of choice language called Abasizi, whose only role is to refresh the king's memory or to beguile his leisure with tasteful improvisations. Even the commoners are not insensitive to literature. There is not a single Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ who is not keenly interested in the legends, narratives, fables, moral or humorous tales, riddles, plays on words, jokes, etc., belonging to the oral literature.

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Every post at the capital has its own traditions which must be scrupulously observed. We shall attempt to provide a short description of the duties and regulations connected with those offices, and of the practices and formalities to which the king must submit on the one hand and his subjects on the other.

The reader should not be surprised to hear that there is etiquette and ceremonial at court.

It is easy to imagine the oddity of a circle such as that of the court, where such varied figures rub shoulders within such a relatively small space: lords, courtiers, disciples of Aesculapius and vulgar charlatans, servants, sorcerers and diviners of various sorts, caterers, stewards, dancers, pages, keepers of the traditions, official chroniclers, literary men, etc., to list but a few. /353/ This whole world exists, thinks, and acts for the sake of the king alone. It is a true medieval court with, moreover, pagan mores where the element of sorcery predominates.

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Laymen unfamiliar with Africa will be able to form an idea of what a king and his court represent in a Black land. What we shall say of the former political situation, the royal mores that prevailed, the human tributes and bloody bondage, will not only describe the [643] ancient times but also demonstrate the respect that surrounded the person of the king, who was regarded by his subjects as a demigod. When viewed in the past, his bloody whims, far from being injurious to his reputation, only served to strengthen his power and his majesty. Primitive souls are awed by displays of brute force.

Among other interesting details, one will find in these pages the more or less rational origin, derived from legend or history, of many a practice and custom that still exists today.

128 common to the three ethnic groups which make up the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ nation, or peculiar to one group or another.

Chapter 1.

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I. Posts and Offices of a Historical and Superstitious Nature.
The Keepers of the Customs and Traditions.
The "King" of the First Fruits and the "King" of the Imandwa.

1. Maintenance at court of a dog-faced baboon and a sacred bull.

It will be recalled that according to legend, when the enemies of Ruganzu II the Victorious attempted to smoke him out of a cave, /356/ he was saved by dog-faced baboons (inguge), who led him through subterranean tunnels to another exit. One of those animals is kept at the capital in order to commemorate this fantastic legend.

The clan in charge of caring for the animal is known under the name of Abanyamuheno, that is to say, "Men of the Cave," in memory of the event.

The monkey, tied with a chain, is fed by his keepers with sweet potatoes, beans, grains, sorghum stalks, etc.

When he gets old he is released in the forest where he was captured when young, and another monkey is sought out to replace him.

Is not this custom reminiscent of honored practices at the court of the Pharaohs, where dog-faced baboons were also raised?

[233] Ruanda is a land of pastures. The Batutsi possess numerous herds of cattle which are, rightly enough, the pride and joy of their owners.

It is not surprising to hear, therefore, that aside from the sacred herds that will be mentioned in the last chapter but one of this book there is a bull at court that is the object of special care and attentions.

644 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a
231 few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).

778 The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits.
[769 The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the
782] animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here," he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

[773] In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste
[766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

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231 inyambo. The individual who is placed in charge of Rusanga is called
778 /358/ Nkwaya and belongs to the Banyiginya clan. This is a position
of trust.

The insanga are well known by the inhabitants of the capital.

2. The chief of protocol and the "king" of the first fruits.

644 There exists a complicated ceremonial and a series of rites whose teaching would soon be lost if their preservation were not entrusted to a group of personages who supervise their observance scrupulously at the monarch's side. They do not fail to call him to order occasionally on this score.

The most important of those directors of protocol, or masters of ceremony, is unquestionably the chief of the Batsobe clan. His is a select position by the side of the sovereign, whom he counsels and directs in those matters which are within his competence. His name will come up again in the pages that follow (1).

Under the ultimate supervision of this high dignitary, one family is in charge of cultivating in the sacred land of Bumbogo the sorghum and eleusine which are later brought to court for the yearly "first-fruits festival." We shall speak of this later when we discuss festivals.

The head of this family is sometimes called "king of the first fruits" (umwami w'umuganura). The father and founder of the Batsobe clan, as we have already mentioned, was raised to noble rank and brought into Ruanda by the Hamitic king, Ruganzu II, as a result of the latter's expedition into Bugara lands, north of the Mulera, against the petty king Nzira, son of Mulamira. In connivance with his mother, the ancestor of the Batsobe had sheltered the disguised

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1. The Batsobe played an exalted role in the Ruchunchu coup d'état. As a reward, the spoils of the vanquished were distributed among them. Their major fees are the Bumbogo, Luhanga, Bussigi, etc.

644 monarch under his roof and had given him the information which permitted the Mututsi /Batutsi/ king to vanquish his rival.

3. In memory of King Gihanga, who offered the gift of fire to his son and successor, Kanyarwanda, a group of individuals chosen
[778 from the Abiru clan must watch /359/ day and night over the fire
372] which is kept burning in the hut dedicated to that great king. The fire is preserved in a huge jar. In the old days the keepers risked their lives if they allowed the fire to go out.

774 4. The king of the "initiates" (umwami w'imwanda).

This post still has a holder today. His name is Kabano, and
173 he succeeded Sherangabo, who had been designated at first to fill this role.

The Hamitic prince was compelled to resign. He was blamed, among other things, for having brought the Europeans into the land, because Count von Götzen had met him at Lwamagona in the Buganza when he entered Ruanda and had taken him along as his guide. This was a mere pretext, however, for the real grievance stemmed from his royal origins. Like Musinga, a son of Lwabugiri, he was both older and better entitled to the throne by far.

The substitute who was placed at the head of the "initiates" is a Mututsi commoner. The title he bears retains its high sound, but the position has lost its importance.

Since the Hamitic monarch, according to custom, could not belong to this secret society, he himself named its chief, who represented to some extent the person of the king and fulfilled in his place the rites in honor of Ryangombe.

The king of the "initiates" formerly had certain privileges, and the members of the society could request his aid and protection in litigations. The position has become strictly honorific.

This religious society is very interesting. Its adepts are re-
[769] cruited from the various tribes in the nation and render continual honors to their founding ancestors, Ryangombe, Binego, Mugasa, Kagoro, Muzana, etc., through imitations of their purely physical actions, chants about their exploits, and offerings of libations or sacrifices.

All questions relating to the origins of this society remain mysterious. It is not known under what circumstances /360/ or at what

794 6. "The dog that runs like the wind" (Nyakayaga).
552 7. "The dog with fringes (with long hair)" (Nyagayonga).

Among the prototypes or figures who appear in this legend,
173 Ryangombe is the one most highly honored.

794 He is regarded as a sort of hunter-king who made volcanoes his favoirte dwelling place after his death.

According to the same narrative, he still enjoys the pleasures of the hunt with his sons, companions, and favorites in those high mountainous and wooded regions. The Batutsi, Bahutu, and Batwa have participated in this cult in large numbers. They observe its /369/ rites faithfully and observe the rules of the arcana. The ceremonies take place mostly at night. Each of the adepts appeals to the spirit or spirits for whom he has a special devotion. The Batutsi have chosen those whose life most closely parallels their own.

643 The chiefs do not like to mix with their subjects to honor
those powerful spirits, but they seek out the help of the Bahutu and
794 Batwa who belong tothis cult and have them dance and sing in honor
of Ryangombe and his companions. The Bahutu and Batwa alone take part in the ritual processions and collections which are carried out through the villages in summertime.

794 The gestures of this cult are pervaded with earnest and impressive seriousness. Initiation, confirmation, ritual feasts, the taking on and carrying out of vows, the collections and processions, all take place secretly, away from prying eyes. Laymen are not allowed to come near the gatherings, and jests and insults directed at the initiates were seriously punished in the old times. A former queen, Nyiramuiema (a wife of King Mutara), was crucified upon the ground in the courtyard of her dwelling by the imandwa for having ridiculed their ceremonies. The tomb of the unfortunate woman lies at Savé, in the Nyarigina quarter.

644 II. Official Posts of Great Importance from the Standpoint of the Crown (Ingoma) as well as from that of the Executive.

Generals and Official Drummers.

Executioners, Capital Punishment, and the "Pit" of the Bugessera.

701 1. The generals or commanders of the armed forces.

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Abarangamyambi	Bumbogo, Bussigi	Gashamura
Abangogo	Kingogo	Luvuzandekwe
Abatanyagwa	Budaha	Lwamanywa (1)
etc.	etc.	etc.

1. The Batwa, like the Bahutu, are divided into several army corps.

The four principal ones are the following:

The army corps called Rwiririza, which includes the Batwa of Gihogwe, in the Nduga, beyond the Kayumbo River; the Biniga, which includes the Batwa of the Bwana-Mkale and which has as its chiefs two Batwa, Senkobga and his son, Kanyamubare; Abagiga, or Batwa /371/ of the great chief Kayondo; and finally the Batwa soldiers called Impunyu. These are none other than the forest Negrillos who are commonly designated by the name of Impunyu, whose etymological meaning is "men of small stature," that is to say, Negrillos or Pygmies, of which the native word is an exact translation.

Such is the military regime that still prevails, although in purely theoretical fashion. /371/

Until 1900 most of the Hamitic kings had taken advantage of this system to such an extent that some clans are said to have been decimated as a result of the too numerous expeditions of ancient times.

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2. The provincial governors (Abatware b' intebbe), who are nearly always at court.

644 3. The petty independent chiefs (Abanyabikiugi), who owe
634 allegiance only to the king but who rule a small area in the province
661 of a great chief. It is rare for a provincial chief not to have in his
territory one or several enclaves of this sort, whose rulers are appointed
directly by the king. The latter does this to save a poor relative
from misery or to reward a favorite. Whenever the opportunity arises,
the lucky beneficiary will watch the actions of his colleague, the
provincial governor, and denounce him to the king in order to gain
the latter's approval.

644 4. The appointed keepers of the famous palladium drum
called Kalinga, over which a vigil is maintained day and night by a
778 special team chosen from the Abiru clan.

[534] This drum has a long history, and the vicissitudes it entailed have given rise to many a narrative. The most important of these bears on the miraculous preservation of the drum and its unexpected discovery at the beginning of Ruganzu II's reign. It is believed that the drum was burned in 1896 at the time of the Runchunchu affair. Kabale, the instigator of the rebellion and an uncle of the new king, had a new one made identical with the first.

It is the great sacred drum, the badge of sovereignty and
palladium of the realm. It is not habitually played. As a rule, it
[402] must follow the king on /372/ his journeys. It is carried in a hammock,
and the other drums are played in its honor. It is entitled to the
same respect as the king, and people clap their hands three times
when they pass before it. In order to preserve it, one rubs it from
time to time with butter and the blood of beeves whose entrails
"turned white," that is to say, whose sacrifice was established as
favorable by the sacrificer-diviners.

[727] The bloody spoils (ibikondo) of important enemies are fastened
to the leather strips stretched over the sides of the instrument.

Most of those dismal trophies vanished in the Runchunchu fire, but the inhabitants of the capital cite with pride the names of the unhappy princes whose defeat and death are still inscribed in macabre fashion on the palladium-drum (1).

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1. They are among others Kanyoni, son of Gatibamenya, and Rubunda, princes of the Ndorwa area; Nyagaketchuru, the woman chief who governed part of Huyi in the Nyaruguru; Mutaga, the king of Urundi who was killed under the reign of Mutara I; Nyirabihoro, another princess from the neighborhood of Uswi; Kabego, king of the isle of Idjwi (in Lake Kivu), and his son Nkundiye.

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This drum is jealously guarded within the enclosure of the royal palace, on the east side in a hut called by the name of imilinga, that is to say, "copper objects."

This term is both metaphorical and euphemistic, and well understood by the people. It is metaphorical so as not to draw the attention of enemies upon the function of the hut, and it is also euphemistic so as to remind the courtiers of the importance of this palladium, which is likened thereby, to the copper threads and bracelets formerly regarded by the Banyarwanda as precious objects. The same hut serves as museum and repository. It also shelters the other royal drums which played a role in the past, before the Kalinga, in its stead, or along with it. /373/

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These drums bear characteristic names. Perhaps they should be regarded merely as symbols or trophies, reminders of victories won in the past by the Hamitic kings over the autochthonous princes. The latter's lands and drums went from their hands into those of the Batutsi monarchs.

The hut also encloses enormous quivers (imitana), arrows, spears, and other weapons of varied shapes and sizes. A certain element of taste must have presided over the selection of this booty, for people who have managed to see them say that the objects in the collection are almost invariably characterized by a certain richness, a great deal of originality, and fairly careful craftsmanship.

644 The observers add that most of those weapons and objects were once
778 the personal property of vanquished princes and kings, hence their
value in the eyes of the victors.

The Hamitic monarchs have also preserved carefully the skulls of beeves whose sacrifice was established as favorable, and the gourds containing the gall bladder (igisabo), the swollen parts of the large intestine (ishira), and certain other parts (ibiranga) of the immolated animals. Those hermetically sealed gourds make highly effective talismans.

534 The names of the main drums are as follows:
552 Kalinga, the palladium-drum.
644 Chyimamugezi, former palladium-drum of King Gihanga.
778 Nyamigezi, the palladium-drum of Yuhi-Mazimpaka.
Butare ("strong as a rock").
Gissabarwanda ("which reverberates throughout the land").
Sinkangimilyango, "I do not inspire fear into the (local) clans."
Mpatsibihugu, "I went to the defense of the land."
Kiragutse, "It spreads out" (that is to say, "It is of enormous size").

Ndamutsa, "I salute him (the king)," from the verb kulamutsa,
[202]/374/ "to salute," because it is pounded in the morning around nine
o'clock, when the king appears before his subjects to hear their good wishes and listen to their grievances. It was also used to herald executions of the convicted, a spectacle which formerly drew the interest of most of the court.

5. The official drummers are chosen, like the afore-mentioned
533 keepers, from the Abiru clan. They play on the Ndamutsa drum,
644 hence their title of Abalamutsa. They live in the hut consecrated
[614] to the late King Lwabugiri (he died in 1895). That is where the
ordinary drums are kept, those that are struck from four o'clock in the morning onward, in accordance with an immemorial custom.

644 6. The court chroniclers, or annalists. Their professional
name is Abachurabgenge, "knowledge makers." They form a sort of
814 closed clan whose members alternate by the king's side and acquaint
him with the history of the land and the deeds and actions of his

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forebears. Along with thedeeds of the past, they must preserve the memory of each king's name, the names of the queen mother, of the king's immediate ancestors, and of the tribe to which they belonged.

[787] Needless to say, critical sense has not yet appeared in the land. It happens sometimes that the Court historians and keepers of the traditions disagree about some detail which is now forgotten or in dispute. In such cases divinatory sacrifices are offered in order to find out what the king should be told (1).

1. See "Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom of Ruanda" /Book II, not translated/ for opinions regarding the authenticity of the first /few/ sovereigns. As fas as the beginnings of the kingdom are concerned, the traditional documentation is of greater value to ethnology than to history.

In spite of their inherent faults and imperfections, the epics nevertheless are not lacking in interest or charm. Through them we can grasp at first hand the thoughts of the Banyarwanda, their feelings, their /375/ ideas about life, their love of their native soil, their attachment to old customs and memories of the past. They reveal the pathetic sorrow caused by foreign invasions, and the enthusiasm inspired by eventual triumph.

[614] 7. The keepers of the traditions belong to the important Abiru clan. Their role is to preserve the unity and continuity of customs at the capital and throughout the realm. The supreme chief of this corporation is the chief of the Batsobe, whose position entails numerous and varied functions.

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In accordance with a popular tradition, he is personally entrusted with the task of collecting the umbilical cord (umukungwa) of each of the king's sons, as well as their teeth, including their milk teeth. Then, when the time comes to determine the heir to the throne, it is this personage who has the honor of presiding over the selection.

644 643 787 According to popular belief, this choice is made in a very interesting manner. The umbilical cords of the young princes are buried separately in pots of ficus wood (umwuko), with gourd, sorghum, eleusine, and native spinach (issogi) seeds planted all around them (1). The future holder of the drum is pointed out by the most plentiful harvest. According to these naive people, the umbilical cords are /376/ then discarded except for that of the crown prince, which must be preserved (1).

[824] [252] [415]

1. These seeds are designated by the name of mbuto nkuru, that is to say, "the major seeds." Eleusine and sorghum play an important role in the diet by yielding a sort of native bread. Spinach is also highly valued because of the flavor it lends to the beans with which it is cooked. The Banyarwanda also include in this category the seeds of a special gourd called inzungwane, which is hollowed out when ripe. It is used to store beer, and it is this relationship to pombe, so highly appreciated by the natives, which lends so much importance to the seed.

According to another popular belief, the successor to the throne is the one among the king's sons born with the "major seeds" in his right hand.

After subjugating the Bahutu by force, the Hamites insured their obedience by exploiting their credulity.

643 1. In actual practice it is the king himself who designates his heir directly during his lifetime, or indirectly through executors, who make known the king's last will after his death.

When the throne was left vacant, there often ensued contests which gave rise to complications and bloody tragedies.

The Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief of the most powerful clan sometimes made his own choice among the sons of the dead king andfforced acceptance of his candidate. This happened in 1896, when Kabale rebelled against the rightful heir, Mibambge IV Rutalindwa, and had Yuhi IV Musinga, his own nephew and the present king, elected instead.

644 767 8. The royal corporation of undertakers called Abanyamugogo. Rightly or wrongly, they claim to be descendants of those who handled the funeral of Ruganzu II Ndori.

We shall mention them again in the section dealing with funeral rites.

644 681 696 9. Executioners.

They are usually chosen from among the Batwa.

So far as ordinary criminals are concerned, executions take place at the capital. High-ranking culprits are often placed in the custody of a chief, who leads them to the Buberuka or Bugessera provinces.

The unfortunate victims are strangled or smitten down with spears, and then tossed into the pit (urwobo) of Bayanga or into the shifting marsh of Nkonde. Aside from strangulation and drowning, 644 681 696 the Banyarwanda also practice dismemberment, otherwise known as the "torment of the hundred wounds."

First the flesh of the face, arms, calves, back, etc. are cut up in order to make the victim suffer as long as possible. This refinement of cruelty is carried out mainly in vendettas (guhora).

Impalement is reserved for cattle thieves. There is mention of an unfortunate man whose stake threatened to come out through his side. The operation was begun all over again..., but the patient /377/ died long before it was concluded. The most common torture for persons of medium rank consisted in cutting off their hands and feet and leaving them thus on the spot, where they died of cold if the hyenas did not devour them first. Sometimes death lingered for two or three days because the blood had coagulated and the hemorrhage had stopped.

Some of those unfortunate victims would bellow their torment and thirst, dragging themselves wretchedly on knees and elbows and vainly attempting to come near the huts and implore the pity of human beings. Their doleful cries were heard throughout the night.

[687] Fear suppressed pity, for the slightest act of compassion would have been regarded as high treason. Any show of pity or mercy was punishable by death. Execution by club, spear, or billhook blows and the cutting of the carotid artery were regarded as the mildest and quickest methods for victims entitled to a certain consideration. This category included elders, women, former favorites, and certain court employees. Important personages whom one did not wish to "do away with" (gusonga) were often sentenced to lose their eyes.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, hardly a week went by at the capital without a bloody execution. If several weeks elapsed without one, the fact seemed so extraordinary that the following expression was repeated everywhere, "Peace (or calm) reigns at the capital" (N' ubuhoro ibgami).

644 683 Sorcery was the cause of condemnation most frequently invoked. When people had an enemy and wished for revenge or when they coveted a rich man's possessions and wealth, no great effort of the imagination /378/ was needed on their part to prove the culpability of the man whose death they desired. When a man was led before

644 the king following such a denunciation, the sentence was swiftly
683 pronounced. "Nakukijije (You are pardoned)," said the king, if the
accused had been so fortunate as to find powerful protectors or to
refute peremptorily the accusations of his enemies. "Mumujane ku
kivumu (Lead him to the ficus tree)," cried the king to the executioners
when the man was condemned.

"Come on, we shall pardon you (guino twakukijije)," added
696 the executioners derisively while leading away their prey. The
unfortunate creature vainly implored the pity of the king and of the
spectators, who just looked away. He was quickly led to a hollow
[152] near the ill-omened ficus tree (ikivumu), where he was to suffer the
prescribed punishment under the eyes of the crowd, who loved to
[541] attend those dreadful spectacles (1). The moans, complaints, cries,
and howls of the tormented victims did not stop the executioners from
pursuing their deadly task to the end. The sufferings of the condemned
persons in no way affected their sensibilities. "Has it been a long
time since So-and-So was executed?" they were sometimes asked.
"The hyenas have eaten him and even digested him (zamuliye,
zamuneye)," they would answer coarsely without changing their tone.

Executioners were seen to prolong the victim's torment for their own gratification, or to lead them to run away by releasing them from their bonds so as to have the pleasure of finishing them on the run. We shall not elaborate on the disgraceful mutilations which those unfortunate individuals were first made to suffer.

686 Many a "rain maker" was killed because he could produce
no rain. At times of great drought, those who had the misfortune
/379/ of being caught were brought to court. They remained bound
for days under the burning rays of the sun, while the populace hurled
insults at them.

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1. Capital punishment drew large crowds filled with morbid curiosity and avid for cruel emotions.

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> 1. Girls who reached marriageable age with this physical peculiarity were formerly regarded as an evil and a threat to the land. The small development of their breasts was considered a crime. They were called the girls "with undeveloped breasts," impenebere, from the verb guhenebera, meaning "to be limited," "to be brought to nothing."

681 whose legs... came first.

696 Those beings, abnormal or regarded as such, were invariably condemned prior to European penetration. There was no pity for them. They had to be done away with secretly and at night, so as not to be denied passage through the land which had to be crossed. According to popular belief, the mere presence or accidental sojourn of one of those beings could unleash famine or other evils throughout the region.

Chapter 2

Duties of a Purely Utilitarian Nature

644 A. The employees of His Majesty's "Mouth" and "Cup" /departments/, that is to say, the cooks and domestic servants (Abahanga, "the Skillful Ones," and Abozi, "the Washers") have always been regarded as holding the least enviable position at court. The hut in which the servants keep the bowls of milk reserved for the king is /385/ designated by the name of kiryana, "the house that devours its inhabitants," since few are the men who survived their duties. After a varying length of service, they were suspected in
682 almost every case of planning to poison the king, and they died a

644 violent death when they least expected it. This was for a long time
[682] a sword of Damocles which almost invariably fell upon the head of those who had the misfortune of being selected for that unenvied position.

We shall cite, later on, a few examples of this.

644 B. The cupbearers (abanyanzoga), like their colleagues in
273 the royal dairy and kitchen, also practiced a dangerous trade. Their
651 duties involved the obtention of the best beer available, which they had to preserve and to offer at the moment it was desired. They were numerous, and some of them lived near the king while others roamed the land to requisition honey, beer itself, or the bunches of bananas which are used in the manufacture of this precious beverage (1).

Originally, employees in this category theoretically had rights
[661] only to bunches of bananas and honey (imitsama), and they roamed the land to obtain them (gutorana). Gradually they took on the habit of behaving like true chiefs and of demanding from the inhabitants contributions in kind, beans, sorghum, cows, etc., as well as forced labor called buletwa. This permitted them not only to live well, but also to acquire large herds.

644 C. There are several work groups assigned to the cultivation
276 and preparation of the tobacco which is used by the prince. The plants destined for his use come from the Bugoyi /386/ Mata in the Marangara, and Ruyanza and Mussambiro in the Nduga, among other

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1. The head of the cupbearers, a certain Mutagikwa, is regarded thereby as captain of the Indengabaganizi army corps. This is a strictly honorific title, which nevertheless enables him to levy taxes in those territories where he exercises his functions as an officer of the "Cup."

He lives at Nyarugenge in Gassagara, the Buhanga.

644 276 regions. The leaves are prepared at the capital by special employees, men or women, who also risked their lives occasionally for the reasons cited above.

D. The preparation of tobacco juice, which is used for a most unusual and worldly purpose (mukibuno), is entrusted to a group of female servants or young girls in the service of the queen mother. The tobacco leaves are immersed in a liquid of tart and bitter flavor (inkari), in which they are allowed to remain for some time.

[278] The liquid alone is then used by the queen mother and high-ranking ladies, who believe that tobacco juice, when prepared in this fashion, is an infallible remedy against the ailment known locally under the name of imisuzi.

This strongly scented solution bears the name of a plant with a pungent odor (umugabagaba) from which the odalisks in charge of this work also draw their name, abanyamugabagaba. The rooms where this curious medication is applied are known at court and among the great chiefs who are all familiar with the famous recipe by special names whose meaning is clear only to those in the know. They are the imikinga, or "secret cabinets," (from gukinga, "to close") and ubugonyi, "public toilets."

644 E. A group of factotums known as Abanyakambere remain at the disposal of the sovereign, who spends most of his day in the hut called by the name of Ikambere, "the first one," because it stands at the heart of the main courtyard. The function of these valets is to watch over the various objects which make up the room furnishings. They also carry out the king's orders and relay messages to the other [202] servants. /387/

644 556 F. There are also the keepers of the treasure. They are called Abanya-byuma.

The Banyarwanda designate all iron objects by the word byuma. Billhooks, axes, graters, knives, bracelets, and especially hoes represent wealth to their owners in terms of their numbers and actual value.

This manner of conceiving and understanding riches gave the keepers of the treasure the name of "people entrusted with the preservation of iron objects (abanya-byuma)." The treasure itself

644 bears the meaningful name of *intore*, from the verb *gutora*, "to
556 choose," because it contains a selection of unique pieces. It includes the wardrobe (*imyambar' abami*) of the former kings and their jewels. Fabrics of all kinds; colobus hides, beads, necklaces, braceletd, and other objects of this sort make up the greater part of the treasure proper, which is exhibited twice a year, as we shall see later on when we discuss the festivals at Court.

644 G. A group of young girls is in charge of cleaning the hut
356 which the monarch uses as a bedroom. They are entrusted with the task of renewing the fine grass which makes up the royal bed and of stretching upon it the mats and precious furs (*ibyahi*), that is to say, the otter, lion, and leopard hides on which the sovereign lies. Those chambermaids are popularly called *Abashahsi*, "those who stretch out the mats," from the word *gusasa*, "to stretch out the mats." Another of their functions, and not the least important one, consists of "warming" the royal bed every night. In order to achieve this, they lie down on the couch successively or even all together until the king arrives.

The women or girls who fulfill a function at court live under the ultimate supervision of the queen mother, at whose side they live. /388/

644 H. The "Irresistibles" (*Intalindwa*) take their name from the
701 army corps of that name. They include a group of servants and factotums chosen among the various classes of society. Among other duties, they watch over the king and his children at night and keep up the fire that must burn on the hearth throughout the night, according to a custom of the country which is also observed by the great chiefs. They renovate the huts by rebuilding them regularly every three years. Since the huts which make up the royal palace are numerous, they share this task with the chiefs of certain provinces.

[482] It is from among the "Irresistibles" that hammock bearers (*abahetsi b' ingobyi*) are selected when great ladies of the royal harem venture outside. They belong to the army corps whose name they bear. The members of this military group were regarded as the most courageous (*Intalindwa*, "those who cannot be resisted").

644 They[1] were sometimes employed, in preference to other servants, to
701 lead away the convicted high-ranking offenders who were to be exe-
[681] cuted at the usual places of punishment (Buberuka, Bugessera).

I. The name of *Impara* is used to designate another army corps which is recruited from among the inhabitants of Kinyaga provinces. This name was also given by extension to a group of individuals who are initiates of the Ryangombe secret society and who are compelled thereby to live close to the king in order to draw upon him the favors of the shades of all those who once belonged to that religious society.

They must make an appearance when the king rises, bearing on their heads the tails of hares (*amashira y'. inkwavu*) or of some other carnivore /sic/ like the marten (*ibiharangu*), which they shake
[769] to the right and to the left while singing and dancing. They hold in the hand small bells or sistra (*ibinyuguri*), which they ring while /389/ invoking in a loud voice the protection of Ryangombe and his companions. Aside from this beseeching role, they fulfill other functions within the king's household.

Owing to their functions as suppliants and intercessors, which is their chief role by far, they might just as correctly have been included in the category that follows.

Duties of a Supposedly Utilitarian Nature, Some of Which Are Private and Others Public and National.

Sorcerers and Diviners of All Kinds.

A. The Bakoma clan has already been discussed at some
644 length in "History of a Reign, " /Book III, not translated/. They were
791 direct descendants of the autochthonous petty kings of Marangara land
and were formerly regarded, along with Mashira, as powerful sorcerers. It was believed that they could preserve or take life by hidden means known to them alone.

The first of those autochthonous princes, whose real name was Sekibakanyi, had a tremendous reputation. It is still said today that "Nkoma Sekibakanyi, king of Marangara, (son) of Nkondogoro, knew
[539] how to cast spells a great deal better than those things are done today" (*Nkoma ya Nkondogoro ikilozi cho mu Marangara kitaloger' ubussa nk' aba none!*). This phrase is now proverbial.

[1] [i.e., the *Intalindwa*. -Analyst]

644 791 278 On account of this fame,[a] the Bakoma have been entrusted with the preparation of an elixir to prolong life called issubyo from the name of the plant which they use for this purpose, hence their name Abanyissubyo, "people of the life beverage," a name and function which they regard as a great honor. In order to make their elixir, the Bakoma, or people from Nkoma's land, look deep into the forest for a kind of moss or mould (urugombyi) which is found on trees. When they have a good amount of it they /390/ burn it all. The ashes are carefully gathered and stored in a safe place. They also use the roots of the plant called issubyo, which they dry in the sun and crush to powder on their flour mill.

The third ingredient of this water of youth is a kind of Lycoperdon called agatumura which resembles the puffball.

Small amounts of these ashes and powders are mixed with beer and handed daily to the king by two representatives of the ancient family. The Hamitic monarch sucks in a few drops through a drinking tube (umuseke or umuheha), rinses his mouth with them once, and immediately spits out the liquid.

In principle the members of the Bakoma clan are exempt from [466] 644 791 767 forced labor and have retained a fair amount of independence (1).

> 1. Over these last few years, the Hamitic chief who was placed above them had to concern himself only with the observance of European laws and ordinances.

They have no function other than to take turns at court and hand to the monarch the invigorating beverage of which they are the inventors (2).

> 2. Along with the Basozo, the Bakoma have enjoyed privileges and immunities for the longest period of time. In the "Reign of

[a] [i.e., of being descended from the best sorceror.—Analyst]

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Ruganzu II, " /Book III, not translated/, we spoke at some length of the Basozo and the origin of the privileges they still enjoy.

The royal corporation of undertakers has similar prerogatives.

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B. The sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind who are employed at court or personally by the king may be said to form the most important and most numerous group. The king requests their services both on a private and on a public and national basis. Their titles and duties are infinitely varied. They are recruited from numerous clans. The Bega tribe provides the most celebrated sacrificer-diviners, known under the name /391/ of *Abakongori* or *Abanyambuto*. The *Abachumbi* group, who aside from their role as diviners have the power of setting spirits to flight, are drawn from among the Basinga. So are the *Abosha*, who claim to be direct descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo, that is to say, "the man with the sorcerer's knives," who came from the land of Ndorwa. It has already been said that he came to seek his fortune in Ruanda, where he was well received by the Hamitic princes, who raised his family to noble rank and showered it with material goods. The name of the forebear, as preserved in history, derives from two words, *kunuka*, "to feel," and *imishyo*, "knives," because of the habit he had of using his sacrificer-diviner's knife to take his bearings.

Also included in the category of sorcerers of the divining and sacrificing kind are the *Abanyantondwe*, *Abanyakarago*, *Bihungamutwe*, *Abanyanzuzi*, who are the most common, and many others.

Rev. Fr. Arnoux has discussed them at some length in his work (1).

1. "La Divination au Rwanda /Divination in Ruanda/," *Anthropos*, 1918. In this study

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the author discusses diviners, including the Bakongori, and the various methods of practicing their art.

The same individual is both diviner and sacrificer.

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The Abakongori are also designated by the name of Abanyambuto because they use the saliva of their clients in their method of divination, hence the name mbuto given to this viscous fluid in this particular case.

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Numerous are the clans, such as the Bazigaba, Batembe, and Bahigo, of the Muhutu /Bantu/ race, which provide the court with diviners and sacrificers, but more numerous still are the families where these functions have been transmitted, since more or less distant times, from father to son or from mother to daughter.

The Bahigo and Batembe inhabit the Bugoyi region. The ancestors of these two families emigrated to the /Ruanda/ kingdom around the year 1800, during the reign of Yuhi III Gahindiro. The members of these two /392/ groups owed their good fortune to a Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief who was pleased with their divinatory talents and made them known to the court of King Yuhi III Gahindiro, where they were summoned (1).

1. The events and incidents of this emigration to Ruanda were preserved by his descendants and make an interesting tale.

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Their method of divination differs from that of other diviners.

They are called Abanyamihundwa, that is to say, "jawbone diviners," because instead of using any small bones as do the ordinary Banyanzuzi, they use only the jawbones of sheep, beeves, and antelopes (2).

644 791 C. Aside from the haruspices, diviners, and sacrificers we have just mentioned, the king retains appointed representatives of every possible and imaginable kind of sorcery.

A whole crowd of sorcerers toils for the monarch and his court: necromancers (Abashyitsi or abahamagazi), conjurer-magicians (Abahuzi), makers of philters and charms (abanyanzaratsi), makers of amulets (abachunyi), etc.

Strangers who came from Bunyabungu or Buhunde (regions located to the north and west of Lake Kivu), from Uswi or Ujinja (on the shores of /Lake/ Victoria), etc., are no less popular than their autochthonous colleagues and sometimes surpass them in the novelty or originality of their art.

There was even once a dispensary for charms and poisons (ubulozi, plural amarozi or ibirozi) which one requisitioned from afar or attempted to make on the spot, although it appears that these experiments met with little success.

The plants whose juice, bark, or leaves were used were not among the most poisonous, as we shall see later.

We may add that the reputation of these magicians seems to have been more impressive than their deeds or the consequences of those deeds.

644 756 791 In all justice one must except from this statement the conjurer-magicians called abahuzi, whose crimes /394/ and misdeeds are too numerous to list (1). It is difficult to understand how they managed to exploit public credulity with impunity through so many centuries. The popular expression "to have blood on one's hands" may be fully

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1. "To seek" is guhura in Kinyarwanda, hence the word umuhuzi, "seeker," given to this fearsome group of sorcerers. Guhurish' ihembe means "to seek with the horn," and guhurish' umunwa, "to seek with the mouth" (in the patient's body).

644 applied to them. They are said to have the power of identifying
756 spell casters and bewitchers and also of expelling from the patient's
791 body whatever is claimed to have caused the illness, poisoning, or bewitchment.

The remove the source of evil with a small horn or a gourd
755 in the guise of a cupping glass, or even with their own mouth, and produce before the bedazzled spectators bones, pebbles, toads, snake heads, and other incredible objects removed with the instrument. The Banyarwanda have boundless faith in the effectiveness of this method and tell of marvelous cures obtained in this fashion.

It is no use trying to reason with them about this. The elders are especially intractable.

In order to unmask the jettatori /from Italian/ and other such
791 cronies, our miracle workers (abahuzi) use another horn full of incongruous and even unmentionable things.

Popular belief adds that they set out in the nude, horn in hand. The horn moves and twists about, people say, as if possessed by an invisible spirit. It leads to the alleged spell casters and be-
683 witchers, who were killed on the spot without furthur ceremony prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

The naïve Blacks add that ingredients used to bewitch or to produce a spell /395/ were discovered in the same manner, no matter whether they had been buried or hidden in a hut (1).

1. The case is cited of several individuals in whose possession a collection of bones was found, and who confessed of their own accord that they were spell casters and bewitchers. It is possible that those unfortunate people, having fallen prey to autosuggestion, believed in the effectiveness of their baleful activities.

791 789 Those same "seekers," in their capacity as conjurer-magicians have the power of staving off the results of spells and sorcery. For a fee, they will set physical and moral boundaries to the evil powers of other sorcerers. They do this by means of medicines (imiti) of their own creation, amulets (impigi), and tree branches with magical properties, which they bury or stick into the ground. Areas thus "closed" to the evil of spells remain for a long time inviolable havens. Henceforth, the owners of such immunized grounds have nothing to fear from bewitchers.

791 The Banyarwanda talk a great deal, by the hearth, about those conjurer-magicians and their high deeds.

In order to recover stolen objects, the Banyarwanda resort to the Banyerango (2). These do not inspire the same fear as their aforementioned colleagues, although they use the same magic horn. [842] The Bachunyi, or makers of grigris, chiefly specialize in bringing fertility to sterile women.

For a fee they sell amulets and magic beverages. Gossipers add that charlatans in this category often take advantage of their clients while the naïve husband, a small bell in hand, is sent to take a slow walk around the sorcerer's hut.

754 D. The curser-sorcerers (Abahenyi) are also held in high esteem. Their mission, like that of the false prophet Balaam, /396/ is to curse the foes and annihilate their power to resist. [644] Their chief, named Agakwande, enjoys high regard at court. His ancestors were simple Bahutu. It was on account of their important functions that they gradually made their way into the noble caste of the Batutsi, with whom they continually intermarried. They inhabit the Ndiza, at Bulembo, and form a powerful and formidable body. Their

(2) Abanyerango. This substantive is derived from the word kulangira, meaning "to show," "to uncover," and designates the sorcerer's trade. Hence the name irango given to the horn which he uses in his search.

754 incantations are claimed to be highly effective. When they practice their magic, they gather at night in a small grove which is their habitual spot and which bears the name of ihinero, from the word guhena, "to curse" (1).

> 1. The etymological and precise meaning of the verb guhena is stronger than the one just stated. It designates a symbolic and expressive gesture which serves to show the low regard in which a person is held or the contempt manifested toward him. The curser-magicians also turn the back on the foe while fulfilling their functions, hence the name of their profession.

On this occasion a black goat is killed and its pelt hung onto a bush.

They wear the fruits of a spiny bush (intobo) around the neck and sow charms on the path which the enemy is about to follow. They did this when the first Europeans arrived but met with little success.

644 701 E. We have already mentioned the generals (abagabe) among high court dignitaries. Above them stands another important figure, who might be called the commander (Umugaba). He plays the role of a sort of honorary general-in-chief of a superstitious character who is believed to make the troops successful. As a distinctive badge of his superiority over the actual general, he encircles his forehead with a strap (ikamba), which is somewhat reminiscent of the royal crown. He is chosen by the diviners (yarelejwe) and perhaps taken from among the Bahutu.

Most often, nevertheless, the role was filled by one of the Batutsi, sons or relatives of the king. It was thus that Karara followed his /397/ father, King Lwabugiri, to the Bunyabungu in the capacity

644 701 [302] of a good-luck general. During the Ishangi expedition it was another son of Lwabugiri, Nshozamihigo, who filled this role. These generals wear amulets around the neck and paint the face with white chalk or lustral water (amazi y'ingwa).

They are also the holders of charms and other talismans (inzaratsi, insinzi), which are supposed to help bring about the defeat of the enemy. They remain at camp while the troops fight. They are graced with almost royal honors. The drums sound reveille for them (akabikirwa) as they do for the king. They have full power to [692] make laws and settle differences, and their sentences cannot be appealed (ikyo bavuze ntikisubir' inyuma) (1).

1. Umugaba is a noun derived from the verb kugaba, meaning "to distribute" or "to give free of charge." In principle this term applies only to the king. Its synonym Rugaba, which stems from the same verb, is reserved for God (Imana).

When the king chooses someone other than the general-in-chief called umugabe to take his place at the head of his troops, he grants this man extensive powers and honors appropriate to his rank as a result of this title.

Other Duties Similar in Nature to the Preceding.
Spell Casters and Bewitchers.
Purifiers and Exorcisers of All Sorts. Makers of Test Poison.

791 644 The duties of these men are practically everyday affairs and thus rather well known, and their works are as famous as those of their colleagues the sacrificer-diviners, the conjurer-magicians, etc.

791 We mention them here separately because of the relatively numerous details cited about each one of them.

●644 It must be said that all those "doctors of occult, mystic, and magic sciences," far from being ashamed of their trade, pride themselves in it and regard themselves as /398/ important and needed beings. They are conscious of their dignity and of the nobility of their functions, which they publicly advertise (1). For some of them professional remuneration is quite high. Glory brings profit.

In their pride and vanity the professional practitioners of magic and sorcery of all kinds have tried to give their art a noble

[173] origin by tracing it back to the great king Ruganzu II. According to legend, he was the man who invented and organized everything.

Craftsmen, blacksmiths, and cultivators claim him /as their forebear/.

When pressed to account for their powers and with their backs against the wall, theurgic sorcerers, medicine men, etc., have claimed in turn to be merely trustees of the gifts and talents which the illustrious monarch was the first to hold and possess. He passed on those gifts and talents to their predecessors, whose line they carry on.

After subjugating the petty autochthonous princes who had governed Ruanda, the Hamitic kings used the services of those princes' descendants. Some of these petty kings, such as those of Marangara and the Bgishaza, had the reputation of being the most powerful of

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[754] 1. This does not concern those who act on their own account and become bewitchers or spell casters on an occasional and temporary basis. Such people operate in a hidden and roundabout way in order to exercise a purely personal vengeance. They take every possible precaution to conceal their operations, therefore, for they risk death if their deeds are disclosed.

644 sorcerers and of possessing exceptional talents. This is why the purely
791 mystical functions of their successors were sanctioned by the conquerors.

As a result, they remain on duty both to His Black Majesty and to his faithful subjects at court, at the capital, and throughout the realm. /399/

A. Bewitchers, spell casters, spells, and sorcery. The sorcerers in this category are subdivided into several groups and operate in various ways.

They are referred to as a group by the generic term umulôzi (abalôzi in the plural), "bewitcher." Kuloga means "to bewitch, to cast a spell," and also "to poison." Ubulôzi (amalôzi in the plural) means "bewitchment," "evil spell," "sorcery," and "poisoning." Those are familiar words in the great lake region.

As we shall see later, many of them ply their trade publicly both at the capital in the service of the king, to deliver him from his enemies, and in the villages where they serve their fellow men.

Others, whose activities are more or less acknowledged, practice only in secret.

Some, as will be made clear, have only a fictional existence and exist only in the imagination of naïve people.

1. Abashitsi, or "the catchers," is the name of those who
787 can force a thief to reveal himself through magical practices.

695 The name of their function is borrowed from the verb gushika, "to catch" (the thief), hence the word "urushiko" to designate the procedure. To do this the magician fills a vessel (imbehe) with a liquid which he prepares himself. He blows for a while into a drinking tube, one end of which is immersed in a wooden jar, until the froth (urufuro) overflows, forcing the thief through this mystic and symbolic procedure to reveal his deed in spite of himself. Such, at least, is the popular belief.

2. Abaheretsi (from the verb guhereka, "to lay traps through
791 bewitchment") serves to designate a second group of sorcerers who
789 specialize in burying charms and amulets of their own making in
banana groves and cultivated fields, /400/ hence the name of
uruhereko given to their sorcery.

754 The land was cleared instantly, to the stupefaction of the onlookers. The prince confirmed him in his position.

In closing, we need only cite the Italian proverb, "*Se non è vero, è bene trovato* /It may not be true, but it is a felicitous in-
789 vention/." The Blacks hold the sorcerers and their power in high regard.

The deep-rooted trust of the Blacks in the /444/ skill of their sorcerers and the efficacy of their magic practices has something to do with the stagnant state of their civilizations.

How much are the doctors of occult and divinatory sciences to blame in this connection?

"It would be unfair," says Maurice Delafosse, "to make the magicians responsible for this situation, for they share the belief of their compatriots in the efficacy of their art. They practice magic not only because it is profitable, but also because they are as credulous as their clients." (*Les Civilisations négro-africaines* /Negro-African Civilizations/.)

Chapter 4

Offices of a Recreational and Literary Nature

644 a. The dancing groups are numerous, and their motions
535 interesting and varied.

The pages have a special dance known by the name of *guhamiriza*. The *kwiyereka* and *kulambira* are indigenous to the mountain dwellers and especially to the Bagoyi.

The renown of this latter group in connection with this type of dance harks back to their great chief Bushako.

The people of the Gissaka specialize in the *kubyina urushara*.
[534] When the dances are accompanied by stringed instruments known by the name of *inanga*, they take the name of *gutambir' inanga*. When performed to the beat of the drum, they are called *gutambir' ingoma*.

535 The kubyin' umudiho is danced by both men and women, who range themselves in a circle and clap their hands in time while their feet tread the ground. /445/

The word "dance" conveys but imperfectly the pastimes we are describing.

They are rather war games and hunting games. The imitation and mimicry of combats and the pursuit of game are very expressive. The Blacks spend hours on end simulating a battle, challenging and crushing imaginary enemies. From time to time they put down their weapons or present them to the king in perfect unity of motion, sing for a while the great deeds of the monarch, and then renew their fictional struggle.

The men's mudiho and that of the women, or young girls, are closer to the dance.

The women first come forward slowly to the sounds of a chanted elegy, and then some of them leave the group and execute graceful movements guided by the singing and hand clapping of their companions.

Their dances are more aesthetic and less wild.

●644 535 b. The corps of pages (intore, from the word gutora, "to choose"), who are recruited among the sons of chiefs, is not the least interesting among the groups who surround the king and who live wholly for his service and pleasure.

Along with the dancers, they contribute a great deal with their gambols and gyrations to the distinctive character of the public festivities which are celebrated at court from time to time, to the festival of the "First fruits," and to the day that closes the great June mourning (igichurassi).

They have special dances for which they undergo an apprenticeship almost daily for several years.

535 554 Like the king, each great Mutusi chief entrusts his pages to the care of highly paid dancing teachers who are to instruct their pupils in new motions and rhythms. This is why the training is carried out secretly /446/, so the "ballets" will be new. A chief derives honor and pleasure from hearing that his pages are the best trained. A great rivalry exists in this connection, therefore, among the various page corps and their respective chiefs.

535 The young men are sustained by the hope of eventually obtaining some cows, by the cheers of the spectators, and by the presence of the king.

On important festival days, the noble squires gird their loins [292] with a colobus or calf pelt adorned with otter hide fringes. On the head they wear a hat of banana-tree fibers that looks like long hair, and their chest is adorned with beads or long narrow strips. They wear bells on their legs and ankles, and they all hold in their hands a spear and a bow. They form groups of 40 or 50, which are differentiated by the richness or design of their costumes and ornaments.

One by one, at the command of the choreographers, they make writhing motions intermingled with jumps and shouts, coming and going with impeccable rhythm, revolving the head as though wishing to tear it from the body. The Blacks are very fond of those war dances, which are in fact marvels of technique.

It is the rhythmic motion of the feet that they admire most and watch most carefully.

644 535 We shall give here for what it may be worth a list of the names of the principal page corps, including the dance groups of the Muhutu /Bahutu/ and Mutwa /Batwa/ race:

Pages and Dancers	Race	Chief
Inchogozabahizi	Abatutsi	Yuhi-Musinga
Intangamuganzanyo	"	"
Urugangazi	"	"
Ibirushya	Abahutu	"
Ishyaka	Abatwa	"
Inkerarugamba	"	" /447/
Indinzi	Abatutsi	Sebagangari
Inkeramihigo	"	Kayondo
Imbasharugamba	Abatwa	"
Inkorabahizi	Abatutsi	Chyitatire
Urwintwari	"	Nturo
Ingeri	"	Rukarakamba
Imbabazabahizi	"	Lwagataraka

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Intagwabira	"	Lugerinyange
Inkwaya (from Bgana-Chambge)	"	Lwabusisi
Amakuza (from Lukaragata)	"	"
Impambara (from Bgishaza)	"	Rwidegembya
Inkaranga (from Bugoyi)	"	Bushako

535 "How shall we describe those dances," says Chalux, (1) "which are as beautiful, as elaborate, and as orderly as the best Russian ballet? They are obviously war dances, and evoke the epic combats of old. They have style and majesty, but in spite of the exactness of motion, the refinement of effects, the artfulness of entrances, exits, and groupings, their essential beauty resides in the fact that they retain a free, sparkling, spontaneous, and seemingly unrehearsed element. Each dancer (there are only men), when observed individually, expresses in his leaps, his steps, and his attitudes the harsh joy of challenging and defeating the enemy. The head is always tossed back, sometimes literally tossed upon the back, and revolves on and on as though the dancer were lending it impetus to propel it through space, as far as possible, against a detested foe. The chest is thrown out arrogantly, the fists are clenched upon the bow and spear, and the arms are rigid, menacing, stretched in two parallel lines. The naked feet hammer on the bare ground, stressing the beat with resounding slaps. The leaps, which are prodigious, defy gravity. The man seems to remain suspended in mid-air while he turns about with a powerful twist of the back, and he touches ground only to spring up even higher /448/ or to simulate with strikingly realistic gestures a fight to the death, the glory of war, the pride of fighting well, of having good weapons, of being a man and a hero, and the full certainty of victory and all its intoxication!

"All this is so natural, so perfectly true, that one must wrench one's sight from the individual and look at the dancers as a whole,

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1. *Un An au Congo belge* /A Year in the Belgian Congo/ (Albert Dewit, publ., Brussels), pp. 487 ff.

539 Umurir' ugatiny' amazi. — Fire fears water.
Amaz (i)' atiny' ifu. — Water fears flour. (3)

3. "Water fears flour," that is to say, the bread or "mush" into which it vanishes.

If' itiny' amenyo. — Flour fears teeth (4).

4. "Flour fears the teeth" of those who eat it.

Ameny' atiny' umuhoro. — Teeth fear the billhook (iron) (5).

[412] 5. "Teeth fear the billhook," as all other hard bodies, especially when made of iron, like the billhook, which is one of the most useful tools.

538 The Blacks of Ruanda have a rich and varied oral literature. They like witticisms, and since their language is rich in shades and nuances, they manipulate it with great art.

195 The most refined speech is heard at the capital.

644 The habitual frequenters of the court, lords, courtiers, and employees, express themselves in flawless language, use the right words and choice expressions, and give them the proper inflections, for Runyarwanda is a phonetic /sic/ language. The appointed men of letters, storytellers, bards, genealogists, and historians carefully [521] watch their diction. Among them conversation is never /454/ dull, for jokes and witticisms abound.

Considering the good taste that distinguishes the familiars of the king and the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga, it is not

195 surprising that they should be shocked and amused by the lingo of the
644 mountain dwellers and those who inhabit the frontiers of the realm. The latter's language is far from refined. It teems with syntactical and accentual mistakes and contains a mixture of foreign terms borrowed from the tongues of neighboring groups.

More conversant than others with matters of language, the men at court readily argue about the worth or etymology of existing words, and willingly create others which are more adequate by drawing upon the genius of their language.

The plural word imiduha means "cactus." Its literal meaning
195 is "those (plants) that give to us." Since those kinds of plants, which
814 resemble the Abyssinian quelqual or kwelkol, are not of any productiveness to the Banyarwanda, the men of letters propose, at least theoretically, to replace the word with imyiha or ichyiha, both of which are purely conventional nouns devoid of this misleading connotation.

It is in the same spirit that the black academicians wish to substitute the word ikyiyone, that is to say, "large bird" for the usual term igikona, whose literal meaning is "that which ravages" (the crops). Our African "Immortals" /Tr.: term applied to members of Académie Française/ would also like to see the term umuguta used exclusively to designate a skeleton (or dried-up cadaver), and its synonym umwite reserved for the word "skin."

551 In their superstitious fear the Blacks avoid pronouncing the
195 names of persons, animals, and things of which they are afraid. They are motivated by the spirit expressed in the French proverb:

Quand on parle du loup, il sort du bois /Talk of the wolf and he will come out of the woods, i.e., speak of the devil and he will appear./ /455/

Instead of calling the leopard by his real name, ingwe, the cowherds, shepherds, travelers, and all other persons who frequent the areas haunted by those animals use the following expressions:

"The one whose name is kept unsaid," Nyiramahole.
"The wind (fast as the wind)," Muyaga.
"The claw of claws," Rwara.
"The animal with the spotted coat," Bugondo.
"The voracious one," Kimizi.

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Umumkari	Umugore	Woman
Umwere wa giti	Umwana	Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians, bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

[824] [234] 3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

438 651 The inhabitants of the Bugoyi, Mulera, Bussigi, Bgisha, Bufumbiro, etc., formerly supplied this substance as a tax under the name of umutsama (plural imitsama).

438 463 The people of the Kinyaga, dwellers on the shores of Lake Kivu, made strong mats (ibisunyu) of lake reeds for the court.

People from the Bgishaza, Kingogo, Budaha, etc., made litters, baskets, and hampers of various shapes because they lived close to the forest where the materials essential to their craft are to be found.

463 651 Dressing cases, combs, butter jars, dishes, spoons, pitchers, pipes, tobacco pouches, bows, arrows, shields, quivers, spear shafts, clubs, scabbards, cases for knives and drinking tubes, drums, chairs, etc., were all made by professionals who paid their taxes in this fashion.

644 In accordance with an immemorial custom, the king chose himself a wife from each of the following Hamitic clans: /458/ Bega, Basinga, Bakono, Baha, and sometimes also among the Bagessera, not to speak of those who were referred to him on account of their mental or physical qualities. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the neighboring princes of the Uswi, Karagwe, and Bunyabungu, but no son of those foreign princesses, to our knowledge, ever sat on the throne. Few royal wives managed to retain their husband's good favors indefinitely. Many of them were demoted to the rank of servants (abaja), if not sent back to their families (1).

1. This was the best they could hope for, since then they regained their complete freedom.

Some chiefs were bound by custom to send regularly to court some little girls, who were raised among the queen-mother's followers. The lot of those children was a rather unhappy one. Some of them when grown were chosen as servants or as symbolic wives offered to the spirits of dead kings (2).

2. Cf. Chapter VII below under "Funeral Rites."

h[i.e., honey. -Analyst]

644 Others were entrusted with the manufacture of baskets, hampers, mats, and other fine basketry.

Sebugrigri (deceased in 1925), the representative of the great chief Rwidegembya in the Bigogo province, had to supply annually two or three of those children, who were euphemistically known by the name of "pages" (intore) or "outgoers" (emigrants) chosen by fate (inkuke).

644 661 Nyiramurici (deceased in 1927), a Muhunde /Hunde/ from the Gishari and a close relative of the queen of that land, came to pay homage to the Hamitic prince of Ruanda. As a reward for his services as a sorcerer, he was given three villages (Gassovu, Gatoke, and Nyaruchundura) located in the Kanage, with the sole obligation of handing to the queen mother /459/ any girls he might father or obtain among his subjects (1).

[651] 1. This obligation has always been regarded as a hateful one. As a rule parents were loath to surrender their offspring and complied only under duress. Sometimes they managed to elude this exorbitant tax by giving the chief one or even several cows. The chief also took advantage of this power to tax only his enemies or to extort several head of cattle from them under this revolting pretext.

In order to gain the good graces of the king or his mother, certain families freely gave up their children, boys or girls. The lot of the adolescent boys was much preferable to that of their sisters. Once grown up, after serving for a time in the page corps, they regained their freedom and were often granted the rule of a hill as a reward for their sojourn at court.

●644 727 Among the other families who played a role at court, we may cite the aBasingo, Batchaba, and aBagessera. The Basingo, a sub-division of the powerful Biru clan, fulfill a special function in wartime along with the "Cursers" (Abahenyi).

They are in charge of "closing the path" to the enemy (gukingir' ababisha) by gathering all the monsters, real or fancied, who [787] are regarded by the Blacks as evil portents and therefore designated by the term intsiro. This covers chiefly black goats, black chicks whose entrails were found to "turn black" when examined by the diviners, that is to say, unfavorable to the enemy, dissolute mothers (ibinyandaro), children born out of wedlock, children born during the mourning period held for one of their relatives (umwana w'amabi), young girls with undeveloped breasts (impenebere), old women who remained sterile through life (umugetchuru w'igicha mbyaro), and other true monsters with real and visible defects, who are designated by the generic name of ibimara or ibimazi.

644 342 The aBatchaba, another branch of the great /460/ aBiru family, select and measure the sites of royal huts. They hang in the interior of the hut, and later fasten outside, some branches of trees with magic properties (1) which according to popular belief exercise a salutary influence over the inhabitants or owners of the huts. It is the duty of their wives and daughters to meet the victorious warriors, singing and dancing, and thus congratulate them for their feats of valor. They also take part in the traditional celebrations which are held when the king takes official possession of a newly built hut and enters it for the first time with a wife chosen especially for the occasion (2).

[824] 1. Among those plants or trees with magic properties, we may cite the ficus (umuvumu), the red-bloom erythrina (umuko), the plant called irarire, etc.

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2. Throughout Ruanda, in principle, a new hut is taken over in the name of a spirit (a dead relative) whose favors are desired.

It is also in his name that one takes a wife (kumulongorer' abazimu).

●644 [342] This is why these women are called abaterampundu, that is, "those who utter cries of joy."

726 The duties of the aBatchaba are often identical to those of their brothers, the aBasingo, whom they assist in bewitching the enemy with teratological beings who are driven before the hostile army. Like the aBiru they also make drums.

825 342 644 The totem of the aBagessera is the wagtail, a bird of good omen, which is consequently regarded as a member of the family. Hence the power of the Bagessera to call this bird when needed. At court and throughout the land, there is a custom whereby no one may enter a new hut until the wagtail has made an appearance. The bird must at least flit about or hop on the flattened ground where the hut is to be built or on the hut itself. One may even wait several days if necessary /461/ rather than risk the misfortunes which invariably befall those who do not take this traditional practice into account. At the capital, therefore, theBagessera are in charge of instigating the appearance of "their relative" (mwene wabo), the congenial bird, whenever a royal building is put up.

To achieve this they take some embers from their home and light a fire before the new hut.

They sit nearby and whistle in a special way to catch the attention of their totem.

825 The wagtail is highly regarded by the Banyarwanda. In story and song it is called "the bird (inyamanza) from the region of Mabera," a once famous village inhabited by the Bagessera (1). It is located

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1. The regard in which the wagtail is held is the subject of a charming tale. The wagtail

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> drawn to the beauty of the fair stranger. The king was notified. She was the girl he had been waiting for. As a reward, the wagtail was granted a permanent privilege to its species called ubulenga nzira, which included immunity and a sort of tithe to be levied upon the crops throughout the realm.

near the hill of Lwoga, not far from Nyanza, the present capital.

563 The Bagessera regard themselves as the most important Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan, and claim to be the most ancient inhabitants of Ruanda. According to them, they were the first masters of the land. /462/

Bloody Bondage Imposed on Some Families

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178 The Bakono, Banyabyinshi, and Bakunzi of the Kinyaga were for a long time the victims of this /type of bondage/.

Let us add, however, that the brutality and cruelty characteristic of those inhuman and now suppressed customs had lost some of their primitive harshness in the course of the last two reigns.

1. The expiatory debt to which the Bakono were bound for having fought Ruganzu II had been changed altogether.

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178 Upon the accession of a new king to the throne, the Bakono had to send one or two of their people to the capital, and so did another clan which had formerly belonged to the Banyabyinshi group, so often mentioned at the beginning of the great king's reign.

At court, instead of having their throats slit as was formerly done, those people were merely sprinkled with lustral water (chalk water) and driven for an instant into the hut of the spirits as though being offered in sacrifice to them. There the matter rested. Other chroniclers state that it was customary to beat them a few times with

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sticks so that the custom should not altogether lose its penal character.

2. Another improvement over the past has been the complete suppression during the two preceding reigns of the odious custom which prompted each new prince when he ascended the throne to send his troops into the Russokovu, between the Bugamba and Kingogo, to make war and receive their baptism of fire.

This was called "to make the king's spear drink blood" (guhir' icchumu ry' umwami).

Just as the Banyarwanda have the habit of leading their herds to the watering hole (guhir' inka) at the /463/ beginning of the day, a traditional custom also made it necessary for the king to make his spear drink blood (kunywesh' amarasso icchumu ry' umwami) upon his accession to the throne.

After killing some unfortunate people, the victorious warriors returned home.

The beginning of a reign could not be augured more auspiciously.

Ruganzu II Ndori was the first to launch such an expedition, which later became traditional. 773

He did this to punish the killers of his father. According to one version, which has already been cited (1), old King Ndahiro was killed at Russokovo, by the Bakongoro (a segment of the great Banyabyinshi faction) who had rebelled against him and whom he had set out to subjugate.

The expedition ended in disaster. Ndahiro, so the tradition adds, died there along with many of his followers. The rebels seized the king's drums and had them burned. Only the Kalinga, or palladium of the realm, escaped the conquerors. This is why the place where the defeat took place has been known since by the name 103

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1. Cf. Book III, Histoire du règne de Ruganzu II, /History of Ruganzu II's Reign/ /not translated/.

178 643 782 The Blacks insist that the custom was not followed when the present king ascended the throne in 1896. The bloody events which took place at that time caused it to be overlooked.

It is not certain either that the Bakuñzi, or people from Bukunzi, lent themselves to this custom willingly, considering its odiousness and the independence they were beginning to show in their dealings with the Hamitic king.

Privileges and Favors at Court

661 644 In the course of this work, there has been frequent mention of exemptions, franchises, and immunities granted to individuals or families. The reader is advised to look into Fondation du Royaume hamite /Founding of the Hamitic Kingdom/ and Histoire du Règne de Ruganzu II (History of the Reign of Ruganzu II) /Books II and III, not translated/, in order to familiarize himself with the subject.

He will find there the approximate time when those rights were granted and the reasons for their existence, and he will be surprised to encounter instances of regional autonomy.

We shall speak here only of certain favors or /466/ privileges of a special character, granted for a specific period of time or even permanently.

Elevation to noble rank falls into the second of these categories.

1. Elevation to Noble Rank

563 644 The Batwa, as we said earlier, are a caste despised by the Bahutu as well as by the Batutsi.

554 565 It is regarded as a dishonor not only to contract matrimonial unions with them, but also in making them commensal. There have been exceptions to this type of ostracism, however. In reviewing the past, one finds some Batwa who were raised to noble rank and placed on the same level as the Batutsi.

Others gained practical nobility in the course of time.

The best-known example is that of the Mutwa /singular of Batwa/ Busiete, to whom Yuhi III Gahindiro gave his own daughter Mulangamirwa in marriage as a reward for his devotion and services.

563 The descendants of this couple created the Basiete clan. They still
● 644 exercise great influence at court, and they possess numerous territories
554 (fees).

565 This event was not unprecedented, for the Hamitic kings, while maintaining the social distinctions with which we are already familiar, frequently made use of this device to reward highly deserving commoners.

This was the rule until quite recently.

Listed among the Bahutu who were admitted into the Batutsi caste and who contracted matrimonial alliances with them are the chief of the "cursers" (abahēnyi) clan, Agakwande, and the descendants of the great sorcerer Lunukamishyo. The latter form a closed clan known by the name of Abosha, and rank at court as sacrificer-diviners.

The keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), or abanyori, from
554 Mpanda village have likewise been raised to noble rank, and so has
565 /467/ Bunyereri, the commander of the "Invincible" (Intalindwa)
army.

The same was done to a number of foreigners from the Uswi, Bunyabungu, and other adjacent regions.

Innumerable men in the king's service (abanyagikali, abanyanzoga, etc.) were raised by his favor to noble rank and granted
the government of some province or village. Prisoners of war who
527 had earned the confidence of their conquerors also rose to the ranks
of the Batutsi. Chief Lusera, who was carried off from the Nkole region at a very young age in the course of an expedition, was brought up by King Lwabugiri, who later gave him the village of Gitongati in the Nduga and his own daughter Kalungerwa in marriage.

The Badiga clan owes its nobility to a curious event in which
173 the Hamitic kings had no direct part.

558 The ancestor of this tribe, a man named Bidiga, was of the
563 Mutwa /Batwa/ race, and his parents, Sabulegeya and Rwiru, had
come originally from the Bufundu province. They had moved to the village of Gahogo in the Nduga. Bidiga, their son, became a potter like his father. During a famine, on a day of torrential rain, a

2. Other Favors and Privileges

661 a. "The gift of the fire cow" (*inka y' umuriro*). This is when
● 644 the king sends a cow to a chief who has been stripped of his property
or who has been in disgrace for some time. It is tantamount to a reconciliation.

This privilege grants the man who had been ostracized or banished permission to settle definitively on granted land and to build there like anyone else.

The gift of the cow, which is a sign and proof of forgiveness, also heralds further favors.

The last two beneficiaries of royal clemency were Musinga's maternal uncles, Lukangamiheto and Luhinankiko, whose ambition and political activities had /469/ greatly displeased the queen mother and the regent Kabale, creator of the bloody Ruchunchu revolution. They regained their rank and position at court.

b. Entrance rights (*ilembo*). This favor is highly valued by
661 those to whom it is granted. It consists of receiving, in lieu of the king, the gifts of material goods and herds which are daily offered to the prince. Hence the expression, "to proceed to or place oneself at the entrance to the Court" (*kuja kw' ilembo ry'ibgami*) so as to take over the gifts and cows which subjects bring to their sovereign. This is a temporary privilege that is granted only for a few days and never more than two or three months to the same individual.

c. *Ubulenga nzira* is a sort of tithing right which the king
and great chiefs grant to individuals whom they wish to reward. The
[651] holder of this right may levy a tax on the inhabitants of the territory over which the chief or king has jurisdiction. He gets cows and produce as long as the concession is not revoked.

d. The right to levy a cow wherever one spends the night
[651 (*kurar'inka*) is largely granted in times of war, on the way out and on
727] the way back.

[702] It is a good device to recruit soldiers, who greatly valued this privilege and made use of it both in friendly and in enemy territory.

e. *Ubutumwa* ("message"). The "right of message" grants the king's envoys the right to demand a cow from the recipient of the message. Instances are cited of men who managed to assemble fine herds thanks to their job as royal couriers.

661 f. "Those who are not looted" (abatanyagwa). This is a kind of privilege of inviolability granted by the prince to chiefs whom he takes under his special protection. He /470/ promises to help them and swears never to surrender them to their enemies.

g. "The right to secure provisions at night" (oguhaha n' ijoro) is a polite metaphor, or rather a gracious euphemism, that means that the beneficiaries of this privilege are entitled to steal freely during the night. It is said that this strange privilege was granted for the last time to the clan of the Bakoma, descendants of the petty king of Marangara, who took advantage of it to the best of their interests.

Favors of this kind were not surprising to the Blacks, who knew only too well that the goods of the subjects belonged to the king, and that by taking them (directly or through an intermediary) he was only taking what belonged to him.

Chapter 5

Safeguard with which the King Surrounds Himself on the Part of His Employees. Dangers to Which the Latter Were Exposed Daily. Customs and Formalities Observed by the King and His Subjects.

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I. Precautions Employed by the King to Insure the Fidelity of His Servants and Employees

Not only does the king demand the most absolute devotion, but he also requires the most rigorous secrecy from most of his people. Those who must be especially careful not to risk his anger and suspicion are the cooks, table servants (abŏzi, abahanga), cup bearers, the men who prepare tobacco, and those in charge of the prince's pipe (abanyaruhago).

The sacrificer-diviners and especially those who are known by the name of Abakongori or Abanyambuto because they use the

644 king's saliva in their procedures carry out their duties in the greatest secrecy. The same applies to the official historians (*abachurabgenge*), /471/ the keepers of the traditions (*abiru*) and the members of the royal corporation of undertakers. No layman is permitted to have close contact with them. In order to insure their zeal, their attach-
644 ment, and their trustworthiness, the sovereign submits them at the
695 outset to a sort of test poison (*igihango*), which in the minds of the Blacks has a noxious, suspensive, and subsequent effect. To this end, the aspirants or successors to the above-mentioned positions were formerly led to Gihanga in the Nduga, on the banks of a famous spring, to drink the beverage that would guarantee their future fidelity. The officials in charge of those tests threw into the water on the preceding day some leaves, plants, and shrub branches which played an important role in this kind of ceremony. The horn of a bull also had to be obtained and dipped in the water, and whenever possible it had to come from a bull who had killed at least one person, as if the memory of the spilled blood were henceforth to haunt the minds of the new candidates and to fill them with terror. The performance was carried out with great seriousness. After drinking this magic water, the participants in the test were expressly forbidden to spit, smoke, or drink beer during the first few days, so that the beverage might work its effect upon them unchecked. The Blacks are indeed very meticulous in the fulfillment of their rites and superstitions (*imihango n'imigenzo*). It was believed that from that time forward, those who had passed the test could not fall short in their official duties. They had pledged themselves forevermore, and the least infidelity, the least breach of duty could only entail disastrous consequences leading to the loss of their life. As in the case of the initiates into the Ryangombe secret society, the test poison thereafter exercised upon them a suspensive and subsequent effect.

It was a sort of Damocles' sword, ever ready to fall upon them in case of disobedience or violation of secrecy. /472/

By drinking the magic beverage, they pledged themselves implicitly to serve the king as the nature of their functions required and to maintain secrecy to outsiders about all court events.

Woe to them if they broke professional secrecy!

644 695 We have seen that in order to preserve the supernatural properties of the beverage (igihango) the candidates were forbidden to smoke, drink, or spit. What were they to do in order to avoid the disastrous effects that the test poison, according to popular belief, might have upon their health?

Accustomed as primitives are to the strangest and most incredible things, the Banyarwanda believed that in order to avert any danger in this connection, all they had to do was to commit a shameful act immediately.

As a result of this belief and in the thought that they were being helpful to the neophytes, their relatives led them away, outside the clan, along with some friends. They lay in wait and seized [839] a young man or a young girl, depending on the sex of the candidate, and did violence to the young person.

It must be added that the Blacks, knowing the distaste of Europeans for such sport, have not dared to fulfill the last part of the [178] program since the arrival of the Whites.

II. Dangers to Which Dignitaries, Employees, and Favorites at Court Were Exposed at All Times

644 661 It may be said that until recent years the secret of certain customs and traditions had been well preserved, for fear of the effects of the test poison and for fear of the king, who would not hesitate to punish delinquents at the first sign of indiscretion. It is equally true that until our time the majority of servants /473/ and underlings lived under the risk and perpetual threat of a violent death which might claim them at any moment. The monarch, who did not rely exclusively on the effectiveness of the test poison and probably had very good reasons not to do so, unfortunately made use quite often of his prerogatives as sovereign and his discretionary power over all things to apply extravagant punishments. Nothing counted in his eyes except his own interests, his whims and his passions. He frequently gave free rein to the latter. A mere suspicion or even less was sufficient to cause the merciless death of an unfortunate individual.

644 661 Some examples will clarify the preceding statements. We may add that they were the last in this bloody serial, and that such things could not happen at the present time.

The most vulnerable servants were unquestionably those who were assigned to the king's kitchens or to the service of his meals, as well as those who were in charge of watching over his beer and milk and those who prepared his tobacco. So as not to extend the necrological list out of all proportion, since the other employees were far from being safe, we shall speak here only of victims belonging to the above-mentioned categories of servants.

Kiryana (from the word kurya, "to eat"), or the "House that devours" its inhabitants, such is the portentous name given to the hut where the bowls of milk reserved for the prince are kept.

Two or three keepers are assigned to this duty, which consists of cleaning the bowls, receiving the milk brought by the chiefs, and presenting it to the king once a day.

Of all vocations this is the most feared and the least envied. Numerous have been its victims, and numerous also those who ran far away to neighboring lands in order to avoid this dangerous honor.

This is why it was always assigned by force. It may be said that /474/ few of those men left their duties without having paid with their lives. The sovereigns, who also lived under a perpetual fear of poisoning and bewitchment and who were not in the least miserly about the blood of their subjects since it counted for so little in their eyes, did not hesitate to nurture a salutary fear in their entourage by striking blindly into the ranks of their servants. Those who fell served as examples to those who remained. It was a matter of inspiring terror and instigation their zeal. Thanks to his high intelligence and to his diviners and sorcerers, the king was believed to know everything which might be plotted in secret against him.

Some Concrete Instances

644 661 696 A young man had been attached to this particular service /milk hut/ for about 15 years. Many a time his sovereign had assured him that he was satisfied with his services and that nothing would ever happen to him.

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His assistants and colleagues kept vanishing, almost invariably struck by the bloody fate which clung to them and to their position. He alone remained untouched. To bind him closer the king plied him with gifts of goods and cattle.

Whenever an anxious thought disturbed his heart, he would think about all the things he possessed, about the royal favor, and about all that he could still expect. There came a time when the queen mother, influenced by rivals and envious men, began to persecute him. No matter how much our man defended himself, calling upon the guarantee he had offered by drinking the test poison and expressing in a most touching fashion the feelings of loyalty which he nurtured toward the royal family, the suspicions which rested upon him merely grew. The queen mother, who always held a sword in her hand, soon came to thrusts with it. While our unfortunate man was fulfilling his duties toward the king and /475/ serving him some drink, he felt the point of the sword graze his body many times. "Traitor, poisoner, son of a dog" (umwana w'imbga), such were the epithets that greeted his appearance. The prince at first seemed to defend him. He even told him privately that he did not believe the calumnies circulated against him, that everything would be all right, that his enemies would be exposed, and that the queen mother would eventually trust him once more.

The days went by, the animosity of the mother did not decrease, and now the king intervened only for the sake of appearances.

One evening, at nightfall, the unfortunate occupant of the "hut that devours" felt himself seized by strong arms.

Alone and taken by surprise, he did not put up any resistance. He was led to another hut.

He was laid upon the ground, firmly bound, and his hands tied behind his back. He vainly appealed to the mercy of his jailers, swearing his innocence.

They retorted that they were merely carrying out royal orders, and that their own life was at stake.

This the prisoner could well understand. Soon he was left to himself and to his own thoughts. Constrained tightly by his bonds, unable to move, and troubled about the fate that awaited him, the

644 unfortunate man grieved. He was prey to the most bitter thoughts
661 when three lugubrious shadows surged forward into his prison from the
midst of darkness and came toward him. . . . It must have been about
696 eight o'clock. Two sticks grazed his neck as though to grip him in a vice. He was going to be strangled. In a convulsion of despair, the man who was about to die managed to break the bonds which held his hands and arms. In a flash he grasped both sticks by one end and set up fierce resistance against the efforts of those who wished to kill him, while emitting heart-rending cries, shouting for help, and proclaiming his innocence to the surrounding echoes. The huge agglomeration of /476/ royal huts resounded with the screams of this man who held on to life desperately. . . . No one could fail to know what was going on.

People were familiar with those shrill, heart-rending wails, which had pierced the air more than once. Everyone's heart tightened with emotion, but each person, in fear of the master or the envious men, maintained an impassive or scoffing expression as befits those who live in uncertainty about the future.

The victim struggled violently against his opponents, who could not manage to relax his hold. While two of the executioners attempted to free the sticks by beating him on the head and chest and kicking him, the third one rolled the victim, who was lying on the ground, in the opposite direction. The executioners, who were doing this work for the first time and had never yet killed anyone and who realized the odiousness of their task, trembled all over before the despair of the unfortunate man who had been surrendered to them.

The fight for life was reaching its climax, but it was obvious that victory would eventually rest with the group of opponents, who were able to move freely. Chance, or rather Divine Providence, willed it that a European who was passing through the capital should be with the king at that very moment.

Hearing the desperate cries that arose within the royal enclosure, the white man was moved and spoke heatedly to the prince. . . . The latter, feigning surprise and astonishment, hastened to the courtyard whence the cries rose, checked the stranglers, and returned forthwith to reassure his interlocutor.

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The man who was about to depart this life, exhausted by his efforts, had almost lost consciousness when he heard himself called by a voice which pretended to be compassionate. It was the king himself, feigning pity. He gave his ex-favorite some beer to drink, had him set on his feet, and asked him to follow, promising /477/ to release him. He had never believed in his guilt, he added, and therefore would soon restore his freedom. His goods would be returned to him, and he would resume his functions at court.

It was only a matter of a couple of hours. The poor captive, staggering at each step under the grip of emotion and weakness, was led to a sort of brick building used as a prison. The door was closed upon him.

He found there a fellow captive who sympathized with his misfortune. More fortunate than he, the other man received food and pombe from the outside, which he shared forthwith. The prisoner, who felt that his last hour had come, regained some courage and the strength needed to undertake a new fight for life.

The honeyed words of the king had not fooled him. He knew that the matter had merely been postponed and that soon he would be fetched again. His companion, who was familiar with the mores of the capital, made no attempt to contradict him. Fearing nothing for himself because he was a noble and too well known to be dispatched secretly, he was full of pity for the man who was about to die. Certain of his fellow-prisoner's trustworthiness and encouraged by his advice, the unfortunate servant tried to shake the door open and weighed upon it with all his might. Nothing could be achieved there, however, for it was shut tight. His efforts were in vain. The planks were nailed solidly and resisted his blows and the pressure of his knees. Time was short, however, for the executioners could arrive at any moment.

The prisoner, in whom the desire to live was stronger than the death which threatened him, managed to climb the dry-brick wall by using his feet and hands. The building was several years old, and the soil which had been used as mortar had disintegrated in the course of time, offering occasional holds to fingers and nails actuated /478/ by an iron will. The head of the climber reached the thatch roof.

644 The man quickly broke through the wood and bamboo of the framework.
661 He was just in time. The door of the prison opened at the same
696 moment, and the executioners came in to seize the condemned man. The latter took off and hurled himself into space. The wall was fortunately of moderate height. The fugitive nevertheless sprained himself slightly in falling upon his feet. Not having had time for thought, he had merely obeyed the instinct for self-preservation. The imminence of danger lent him wings, for his leap had drawn the attention of those who vainly sought him inside.

The alarm was sounded, and the fugitive pursued. He did not lose his head, however. Instead of risking capture, which was bound to result if he placed all his trust in flight, our man, who had some headway over his pursuers, hid in the capital itself at the home of a friend he trusted completely. It was to be expected that searches would be made in the huts. In order to avert this new danger, one of the long baskets used to store beans inside the huts was readied to provide the fugitive with a foolproof hiding place.

For further safety his head was covered with beans which allowed him to breathe sideways but which were sure to defeat the searchers' quest. All inspections and investigations among the inhabitants were in vain. When vigilance had relaxed a little, the lucky fugitive took advantage one evening of the shades of night to leave forever that tragic place which had nearly become his grave. His flight was discovered some time later. Under directives from higher sources, the local chief had the hut surrounded. Its owner managed to escape in time.

The affair had become known, and furthermore the country had come increasingly under the sway of European administration. The latter /479/ heard of the matter. A trial took place which did not turn out in favor of the persecutors.

As a result, the fugitive was not disturbed again.

Many years have passed since this moving episode. The memory of those frightful events has nevertheless remained painful to the hero of the tragedy, who does not like to recall the past. The stubborn scars which cross his face, chest, and arms corroborate the seriousness of the episode that nearly killed him. He has met

644 since more than once with his neophyte executioners, who did not
661 fail to congratulate him with some embarrassment while apologizing
for the odious task which had been entrusted to them. "Some luck
696 thou had!" they already told him (wagiz' Imana). "What an ugly
business the king had entrusted to us!"

"Good for thee, if you managed to get out of such a tight
corner." A little later he was even presented to the king, who was
first taken aback. He recovered himself quickly and congratulated
him in turn. "It was God who saved you (N'Imana yagukijije)," he
added. In gratitude to God, Who had rescued him from such a diffi-
[553] cult situation, the lucky fugitive changed his name from Ngirimandwa
("The spirits of the initiates are on my side") to Ngirimana, which
means "I have God (on my side)."

After a whole string of circumstances, all equally eventful and dramatic, the outcome had finally turned out in Ngirimandwa's favor.

For one fugitive who was able to narrate in detail the vicissitudes of the drama that nearly killed him, however, how many unfortunate ones vanished into the fatal den without a trace!

Now that the times have changed, elders whose lips were formerly sealed by the rule of secrecy and by the fear of corporal punishment, freely mention the names of unfortunate executed men they knew. They recall among many others a young man who had been a page. /480/ His intelligence, ability, and liveliness had drawn the notice of the sovereign to him, who made him his favorite and could not do without him. As in the previous case the years went by and the prince's favor was transferred elsewhere.

[539] "A king's friendship, a day's friendship," says the proverb.

He had been practically forsaken and was hardly noticed anymore, when one day he was requested to work in the famous "bloody hut."

What had he done that his fate should be so irreparably settled? That is practically unknown.

About eight days after he had received his new job, he was summoned in great haste as though for some pressing errand. It was

644 the queen mother who had called him. She wanted news of a court
661 lady who had just given birth.

696 This woman lived a short distance from the capital. Night fell. The messenger set out on his way. He was accompanied by a chief and by a factotum.

They reached the edge of a swamp of sinister fame where summary executions were formerly performed.

The young man, guiltless and carefree, walked in front. He was struck from behind...and has never been heard of since.

Another occupant of the hut with the portentous name, just as peaceable as the preceding one but older, was brutally seized in turn when he least expected it, after being designated by the diviners' bones.... First he managed to run away and hide at a friend's house. When he attempted to return to his own village, however, he was recognized and captured along the way by a chief who led him back to the capital. He was tossed into prison where he was joined during the night by sinister-looking men. They held in their hands large milk jars which they used to crush his jaw and face. The prisoner, tightly bound as the Blacks know how to do, was stretched upon the ground /481/ and unable to make the least motion. Kicks and blows fell thick and fast upon the chest and stomach of the unfortunate man whose body soon became a single wound.

He was finished off by strangulation.

Several groups of young girls were also killed, some under the fallacious pretext of having poisoned the tobacco they prepared, others for having stolen bead necklaces. The latter, after they had confessed, were first thrown into prison. A day or two later, they were taken out and led to the queen mother, who feigned reconciliation and pardon and received them with great displays of joy. Hydromel was served to them in large quantities. A deep sleep took hold of them. Then the executioner came and strangled them....

681 In order to give an idea of the frequency of executions and
696 variety of corporal punishments, we shall give here a sort of
644 necrological list that includes the names of the victims and the circumstances of their death.

681 This list, which is incomplete, covers a period of some 20
696 years just before the Europeans took possession officially.

644 We list these data, of course, without vouching for their accuracy. We cannot guarantee the authenticity of every victim, and still less that of the details of the executions. We can only relate popular reports that are sometimes or even frequently suspect in their statements and evaluations.

Victims of the "Milk House"

1. Lwandenzi, of Mututsi /Batutsi/ race, originally from the Bgana-Chambge, was led into the Bugessera forest.

His executioners tied him to a tree and cut off his feet (kumusongor' ibirenge). /482/

2. Lutindamateme, an Umututsi from the village of Ntenyo (Nduga), was first bound, then killed with a spear thrust and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

3. Lwanyonga, a Mututsi, died in the same way at the the same time as the preceding man.

His corpse was cut into pieces by sorcerers, who wanted to hinder his spirit from harming the king.

4. Minega, son of a certain Bushakiro, a Mututsi from Mwendo (Nduga), had his throat slit in the Bugessera forest.

5. Gahima, son of Nyarwambari, a Mututsi from Gassaka (near Gisseke), was clubbed to death in the inner courtyard of the palace.

6. Munyagishari, a Mututsi, was killed with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

7. Gakwise, of Muhutu /Bahutu/ race, suffered the same fate.

8. Karara, a Muhutu, died the same death.

9. Ntagwabira, a Muhutu, died like the preceding.

10. Ibingira, a Mututsi, also died in the same manner.

11. Butama, a Muhutu, was clubbed to death.

12. Majanjo, a Mututsi, strangled himself in prison to escape the corporal punishment which awaited him.

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196 13. Kajigiri, a Mututsi from the Gissaka country, was first bound. His executioners lifted him several times and dropped him on his head. He was finished off with club blows.

14. Lwamiheto was given numerous blows by club. He was released almost immediately and died three months later of the brutalities he had suffered, according to public opinion.

15. Kayonga and his son, after many vicissitudes, were slain with spear thrusts and thrown into the Ruboneye swamp.

Victims on Other Counts

1. Bigutu and Balikage, the latter a son of Bisango and chief of the Bgishaza provinces, were killed while the court was settled at Kamonyi, after having been accused of opposing the new regime. /483/

2. The great Mututsi /Batutsi/ chief Lutishereka, his sons, and some of his followers had their throats cut while the court sojourned at Mukingo. This was done at the instigation of Luhinankiko, who blamed that high dignitary for inciting one of Lwabugiri's sons to murder his friend Baryinyonza.

3. Serukenyinkware, from the Mututsi /Batutsi/ clan of the Bachumbi, was accused of the same crime. He was cut to pieces while the court was staying at Mwima.

[685] 4. Three employees of the court, at Nyanza, were caught killing a cow which they had stolen from the king.

They were condemned to death by spearing, and they made it a point of honor not to utter the slightest cry of pain.

5. A young Mututsi, after being bound and beaten with rods all through the day, was dragged still alive by the feet, into the swamp, where he was finished off by the Batwa.

[683] 6. Two inhabitants of the village of Musumba (Nduga), named Lukesha and Lugingabahizi, had their hands and feet cut off for a crime of bewitchment. The two poor devils were held responsible because Lwibishenga, a brother of the queen mother, had almost lost his sight as a result of yaws.

7. Two Bahutu were shot point blank in the palace courtyard for a crime of espionage.

681 696 644 8. A slave (umuja) was struck down along the road at night after she had been advised to leave court and seek her fortune elsewhere. She was punished for not having watched closely enough over the moral behavior of two young princesses of royal blood.

9. Luhinankiko, a son of Queen Mother Nyirayuhi, was stripped of his property for having had Lutishereka killed. He even had to flee to Urundi, where he spent some 15 years.

Since Kabale, the regent, could not take his revenge upon him as he would have wished, he turned upon his friends and followers. /484/

Chaka, who was Luhinankiko's son-in-law, and Sebuharara and Rulinda, who were his protegés, were attacked in the Buganza by the men of the powerful minister. Defeated and unable to flee, they shut themselves up in a hut, set fire to it, and perished in the flames.

Kaningo, who belonged to their faction, was stripped of his property. On the point of being caught and knowing what awaited him at the capital, he also burned himself in his hut.

683 10. The Banyarwanda still remember the corporal punishment inflicted upon the six "poisoners" (1) led to Nyanza by chief Kanuma.

1. This is how the individuals suspected of the alleged crime of bewitching are designated.

These unfortunate persons had their hands and feet cut off.

11. Nyantanyi, son of Semakamba, as surrendered by Musinga to Gashamura, son of Lukagirashamba. Lwamwa, one of the latter's sons, had been killed at Ndolandi, a land he wished to conquer, by Nyantanyi's men. His relatives, the Batsobe, complained to the king, who gave them satisfaction by handing the local chief over to them.

Nyantanyi was bound and led outside the palace by Gashamura and his followers. Lwamwa's son stabbed him first in the side with a spear, and almost immediately 20 or 30 spear thrusts laid him low. 628 His head and right hand were cut off to be shown to the other followers, as was done in vendettas. One detail is to be noted: Gashamura was Nyantanyi's uncle by marriage and his father-in-law.

• 644 681 Sentashonga, the victim's cousin, was granted permission that evening to have the corpse of his relative buried.

696 The elders and former habitués of the court do not lack for
[521] narratives of this kind, which they relate like any other tale without seeming overly shocked by them. Such is the environment, such are the mores and attitudes. /485/

643 661 "The king is the master," they say. "He does as he pleases. The decisions he makes cannot be contested. He is the supreme judge. One can only obey and assent." The victims' relatives were sometimes the first to come and greet him, feigning total impassiveness, forced as they were to drive back to the bottom of their hearts the bitter pain which they could not but feel.

Complaints, wails, and recriminations could only have stirred up the anger of the king and given rise to new slaughters.

While looking after his own safety, every person also had to keep in mind that of his people /relatives and friends/. The latter, indeed, might be held responsible for the deeds and actions, no matter how harmless, of any of their fellow members. The extermination of a whole family formerly weighed very little on the scale of royal justice.

So as not to provoke trouble which might prove fatal, therefore, they put a good face on misfortune. These executed, however innocent they might have been, were claimed in loud voices to have
[687] been cursed men (ibichibga) or rebels. To shed tears or express one's sorrow were crimes of high treason. "A mere whim of the master was sufficient to send a person to punishment. What won't one do to avoid so cruel a fate?" This statement made by a court favorite of the previous reign /avant-règne/ reveals a great deal about the mores of the time. "If the king happened to sprain his foot," added the same man, "to knock against some obstacle or pebble, it was not a good idea to meet with him at that moment."

In his anger the monarch might accuse anyone of having bewitched him, and wreak then and there a signal vengeance.

Professional executioners were not always used for this purpose.
[696] The king might call upon any member of his retinue to carry out the task. The person had to comply, no matter how revolted he might

789 desires. At the beginning of his relations with the Whites, Musinga
648 often appeared with a small stick in his hand, the tip of which he would first turn toward himself as he spoke and then toward his interlocutors, in order to influence their answers. This stick was called by the name of uruchubyo, from the word guchubya, which describes the act of driving boiling water back into the pot with a stick of that name. The Blacks saw a certain similarity between the two occurrences. Just as cooks and their helpers keep the liquid from running over by forcing it back to the bottom of the pot, he who possesses a magic stick wards off the evil which his interlocutors might perpetrate upon him (ngo atsind' amagambo mabi). A happy and inoffensive credulity, which does harm to no one!

IV. Customs and Formalities Observed by the King and His Subjects

644 The relations between subjects and sovereign are permeated with a profound respect which is both superstitious and actuated by fear. The Banyarwanda formerly experienced /491/ no feelings toward their monarch other than reverential fear. The stateliness which surrounded the king and the bloody executions which confirmed his absolute power over all things had no small part in the preservation of these feelings, which were closely bound with an attitude of servility. The monarch was a true demigod far superior to other men, hence the following customs and formalities which governed the relations between subjects and sovereign.

1. The king is awakened by drums which are first played at four or five o'clock in the morning. Actually, he does not rise before seven thirty or eight o'clock. At the moment when he leaves his bed, women come and grind a handful of sorghum or eleusine, while a young girl shakes the large gourd (igisabo) which is used for churning.

The aim of these observances is to draw upon the king and the realm the prosperity symbolized by the sorghum, eleusine, and butter. The Impara, or group of initiates into the Ryangombe secret society, then make their appearance.

644 [534] Swinging their grotesque headdress to the right and to the left, they come in dancing and singing, sounding the bells and sistra which they hold in their hands.

They call upon Ryangombe and other dead initiates to bestow their protection upon the sovereign.

195 644 192 2. In order to speak of the king and of his most trivial and frequent actions, custom demands that colorful and noble terms be used, such as for example the following: kubikirwa or kwisasira instead of kuryama, which means "to go to bed."

igisasiro for uburiri............ "royal bed"
kubamburwa for kubyuka....... "to get up"
kuj' ijabiro for kuboneka ...... "to appear"
inyundo for amaguru .... "legs"
ingoro for inzu .... "house" /492/
ingoro irakamwa for inzu irava . "it rains in the hut"
ingoro irahonjoka for inzu iragwa. "the hut is falling to pieces with age" (1)

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1. Kubikirwa comes from the word kubika, "to put away an object," "to put it in its proper place"; kwisasira means "to spread out the mats on the ground"; igisasiro, "the place where the mats are spread out"; kubamburwa, "to be awake"; kuj' ijabiro, "to go to that part of the hut where one talks to guests"; inyundo, "iron hammer"; ingoro, "palace"; ingoro irakamwa, "the palace is milked," to mean that it rains in there; ingor' irahonjoka, "the palace grows fat" (that is, it swells), because it is falling to pieces with age.

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Figurative terms are used to speak of the king's death:

gutabara	"to go to the aid," "to go to war"
gutanga	"to hand over" (the drum to the successor)
kunywa	"to drink" (poison)
gussaza	"to grow old"
gusezera	"to take leave"
ijuru ryaguye	"the sky has fallen"

644 3. It would be most disrespectful to allude to anything pertaining to his eventual death. While on a trip the king must avoid passing too close to cemeteries or even to the mere "night stops" (ilaro, amalaro), where the bodies of his predecessors were laid in the course of their transfer to the royal necropolises.

[767] Nor is he permitted to spend the night in those villages which are inhabited by the undertakers.

The latter in turn must avoid appearing in his presence and must employ an intermediary when they have to deal with the king.

As if the thought, likeness, or memory of death could shorten his days or bring misfortune upon him!

4. Whenever possible His Majesty must avoid bending his knees (guhina), so as not to risk a reduction in the area of his kingdom (2). /493/

[821] 2. When caught by a storm or bad weather the king must not quicken his pace; he must proceed quietly to shelter. Rain is regarded as a blessing due to the influence of the prince. A quickening of his pace might bring the beneficial downpour to an end.

We believe that this popular belief will soon be pushed into the background, and that the monarch will become less willing to submit to all the demands of his position.

●644 5. In certain cases and where certain objects are concerned, the king must help himself directly. When he wishes to play the drum, as he is wont to do, his followers set the sticks on the ground before him instead of offering them to him spontaneously. The prince picks them up himself.

To hand them over to him, which to us seems so simple, might cause him to die (gukenya).

644 272 [415] 6. It is for the same reason that the servants entrusted with keeping the milk in the famous "hut that devours its inhabitants" (ikiryana) observe the same custom. Two or three large bowls full of milk are brought into the hut where the king is served. They are carefully closed with a lid woven of vegetable fiber.

Small wooden vessels known by the name of ichyantsi (plural ibyantsi) are laid before His Majesty. Whether there are two, four, or even eight of them, they must be immaculately clean. The servant fills a first container, which the king picks up himself without any help.

If the milk pleases him he goes on drinking, but he is careful not to finish it.

He must leave half of it, lest milk become scarce (ngw'amata atagabanuka) in the realm. Meanwhile, the servant fills another vessel, which the king picks up himself as he did the first one.

The first one is filled again. This table service continues until the king's hunger is satisfied.

644 7. Custom demands that when appearing at court one should clap one's hands three times (gukom'amashi) and use the customary formulas, with the sole addition of "king" (umwami) or "Sire" (Nyagasani). This is about the only external mark of respect reserved for the sovereign. /494/

644 293 412 778 8. At night the king must never be without the native hammer called Nyarushara. This tool goes with him on all his journeys.

It is left under the fine grass which serves as the monarch's bolster and pillow (barayisegurir' umwami).

It is a sort of ancient talisman which theoretically has not yet lost any of its mystic power. It was wrought according to the specifications of Mashira, the sorcerer-petty king, by an able

644 blacksmith, Gihu, son of Muhinda, on the hill of Mpanda (mu Buhigiro,
293 i Kizibaziba) in the Nduga. This was done to enable the Hamitic
412 king with whom this autochthonous prince had concluded an alliance
778 to turn back the Banyoro who had invaded Ruanda. The hammer, which is octogonal in shape (imigong' umunane), symbolized an all-powerful symbolic being. The artisan, on Mashira's specifications, had wrought two breasts upon it (1). Mutabazi, the monarch's son, only had to sit down and hold upon his knees the "dreadful" magic device, pointed facing the enemy, for the latter to be hewed to pieces.

Two other small hammers with the same origin and which played the same role are laid beside the Nyarushara. They are known by the name of ubushingo or abagaragu bayo, that is to say, its "companions." Every morning at about nine, when the drum called Ndamutsa ("I greet") is played to proclaim the rising and appearance of the monarch, the latter must touch the talisman hammer as if the day's luck depended upon it.

9. Inyundo ya Barenge, "the hammer of the Barenge people."

It is not known exactly why the hammer thus named is kept at court. /495/

Does it really belong to the Barenge, who lived in the country several centuries ago? This is hard to say. Since it is very heavy and weighs two or three times as much as an ordinary hammer, the king's laborers sometimes use it as a mallet to drive stakes (imiganda) into rocky ground (1).

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1. Such details demonstrate the importance attached to this fearsome mystic weapon. Nothing has been forgotten concerning the circumstances of its manufacture, the date, the place, the artisan, the man who inspired the project, etc.

773 [778] to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

[821] It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

● 644 484 614 619 10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

[825] It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

644 484 619 In addition, they are the born protectors selected by the Hamitic princes to ward off the bad luck which threatens them in certain circumstances. The Banyarwanda, indeed, have mystic defenders of this sort who are chosen among the members of a tribe alien to theirs.

Those individuals are believed to have the power to ward off the imaginary dangers which threaten human beings. They are called abase (singular umuse). The Banyarwanda call upon their omnipotence at times of death (1), a loss of fortune, the plundering of a herd, the building of a hut, the giving of a name to a child, his teething, the celebration of a marriage, etc.

Since the Bagessera are the protectors of the Hamitic princes, it is understandable that the monarchs should seek their hospitality.

If there are no members of that family /in the locality/, the king stays with the Bazigaba, whose ancestor Kazigaba was the /497/ brother of Kagessera, founder of the Bagessera clan. If neither are to be found in the area through which the monarch is traveling, the latter resorts, in this order, to the Banyiginya, the Bega, or lastly, the Bakono.

644 484 While traveling, the king is accompanied by an honor guard of [illegible]tsi, Bahutu, and Batwa, who sleep around the royal hut at night.

[533] Five or six drummers walk at the head of the procession, beating occasionally on their instruments. The drums are also played at nightfall and at the first birdsong in the morning.

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[764] 1. In the Bugoyi the umuse, or protector, removes from the hut of the deceased the main post upon which the dead owner liked to lean, the piece of wood (umusego) which stands at the head of the bed, the log that was used as a chair, and the small piece of wood that surmounted the roof of the hut. All of this is laid upon the grave.

644 Appointed cowherds lead before them a small herd of milk
484 cows to provide for the needs of the king.

661 The passage of a prince was formerly tantamount to a disaster
for the local inhabitants, who had to harbor the members of the train.

The retinue did not merely include courtiers, the royal guard, sorcerers, and the usual employees. Those dignitaries who wished to retain the good graces of the sovereign made it their business to accompany him with their numerous servants. Idlers and jacks-of-all-trades also joined the train along the way and fleeced the unlucky natives on whom they paid a visit.

This was indeed a veritable army which spared neither friend nor foe, trampling the crops in their path, looting travelers, and taking by force from the local inhabitants whatever had not been hidden in time.

The men who made up the usual retinue of Kigeri IV Lwabugiri
[551] were nicknamed the "Pillagers" (1), owing to their extortions.

1. Their native nickname, *Ibitsimbanyi*, is a noun derived from the verb *gutsimba*, which means "to pillage," "to fleece."

644 11. For the sake of completeness, we shall cite the following
two customs which the keepers of the traditions assure us were ob-
768 served in the past. /498/

When the death of a neighboring sovereign, of the Uswi, Urundi, or Karagwe, was announced, the king had to leave his residence and have a new one built (1).

1. Times have changed. The choice of a site and the building of a new "palace" would present too many difficulties today. When the prince of Urundi died, the king merely spent eight days outside his habitual

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home, on the advice of his familiars, in a hut that stood nearby. The sorcerers assured him that he had nothing more to fear on the part of the spirits, who had been given full satisfaction by means of this trick.

643 Upon the accession of each new king to the throne, a special envoy went to the Ruzizi Valley and drew water from a spring called Zina. He took some of that water and brought it for the young monarch to drink.

The reasons for this custom, which has now fallen into disuse, have been forgotten.

Chapter 6

I. The Two Great Festivals at Court

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The two most important celebrations (ibirori) take place at the official presentation of the "First Fruits," and on the day following the annual mourning period, which the king and his court must observe.

This latter feast, which closes the month of June, is celebrated with the same pomp and richness. Since it will be described in the chapter dealing with honors rendered to the spirits of the royal dead, we shall discuss here only the festival called "First-Fruits" festival.

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In their enthusiasm and admiration for Ruganzu II, the Victorious, the Banyarwanda go so far as to credit him with almost every food plant or grain they possess. Special mention is made of sorghum, eleusine, and a kind of wild plant /499/ known by the name of issogi (1), owing to their importance in the local economy.

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778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

644 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two im-
543 portant solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

292 Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived
543 the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good
[648] offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

643 Hence the following beliefs, to which the common people have given credence up to now.

644 855 In principle, in the old days the sovereign was not permitted to see his heir. The child was entrusted to the care of reliable men and raised far from his father, who occasionally was brought pieces of string which had served to measure the height and waist of his future successor. In order to judge the development and strength of the young prince, the king imprinted the outline of his own foot in a basket of sorghum flour. This was brought to the crown prince, who in turn left in it the imprint of his foot. The basket was returned to the king, who never lost interest in the physical development of his child.

Bows were later sent to him so that he might try his strength. The heir was considered worthy of the throne on the day when he was able to string his father's bow, since now he had become as strong as his father.

643 762 The last verifications were made. It was necessary to make sure that the king's garment fitted him perfectly, and that the imprint of his feet matched exactly that of his father's. The latter, on the other hand, having grown old and noticed that his beard and hair were greying, (yamez' imvi), decided himself that his time had come. He immediately called his confidants and made known his last wishes. "I am going to depart (gutabara); there are only a few moments left to me. You shall see to it that my son rules (kwimika) in my place. You shall obey him in all things"....

[278] The same evening the appointed sorcerers presented him /516/ with hydromel (inkangaza) in which they had mixed a violent poison, purchased, it is believed, on the shores of Lake Victoria, where it was prepared with putrefied crocodile flesh.

The king went to sleep and never awakened. "He has drunk" (yanyone), as they said in official terminology, or else "He has departed" (yatabaye), he has rejoined his ancestors, the Liberators, who saved the land, "He has ceded the throne" (yatanze), "The sky has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye), for such are the expressions still consecrated by usage and used to proclaim this serious event.

643 Then the king appoints one or two chiefs to go and settle their
767 difficulties.

In the old days these undertakers could not visit with their
fellow men, nor could they eat or drink with them. Even today, when
[415] invited to feast with their neighbors, they must bring with them their
own drinking tube. It is maintained that they do not eat with their
children. If it came to pass that the latter, in turn, should bury a
new king, they would have to leave their parents and never see
them again.

A special vocabulary is used to speak of the monarch and
[198 certain of his acts. It would be most disrespectful to say that the king
644] sleeps, drinks, eats, etc., like anyone else. We have already seen
how his ailments and his death are mentioned (yaberamye, yanyoye,
yatabaye, etc.).

It is for the same reason that the royal undertakers bear a name
767 that recalls their function only in a very indirect way. Just as they
644 are strictly forbidden to go to the capital, custom forbids the king to
643 go through areas inhabited by members of this corporation or to camp
there. He must avoid the sacred groves where the spirits of his
ancestors rest, as though the idea of death could shorten the life of
the sovereign. It is mandatory to his followers to avert that image
and thought from his eyes and from his ears, which are those of a
demigod well above common mortals.

He must be enabled to enjoy this life and all its pleasures in
peace.

5. Mourning Rites Observed at the Death of a Prince

643 The king is mourned for four months, that is to say, until the
765 official accession of his successor to the throne. During /522/ that
period of time, cohabitation between spouses is theoretically forbidden.
Bulls are also separated from the herds at the time of this terrible
misfortune, which causes the Banyarwanda to state that "the sky
has fallen" (ijuru ryaguye). Men and even children shave their heads
[302] as a sign of mourning.

766 The sacred groves are numerous, and it is surprising to find
778 them most everywhere, even in the most deserted areas.

Royal cemeteries and former residences are legion. There is
778 not one province in Ruanda that does not boast several of them at least.

766 They are found even in bordering lands which were invaded
644 more than once by the Banyarwanda. Their numbers are understandable if one recalls the nomadic life of the warrior kings such as Ruganzu and Lwabugiri, who did not sleep often under the same roof. The sovereign had only to spend the night in a hut along the way for the spot to become sacred from then on. The owners had to abandon their dwelling and go elsewhere or build at the side. The ficus branches which fenced in the courtyard went on growing and created a new sacred grove (ikigabiro).

These groves are made up of various tree species, with the
[824] ficus usually predominating. Several types of this tree are found: imigobge, imilehe, imikobe, imitabataba, etc.

The bark of the last two trees is used to make a kind of cloth
[287] which wears out rapidly (impuzu). Those clumps of trees, which are almost invariably green and which loom into sight here and there, contrast with the bareness of the land, /524/ especially in the Nduga, and lend it a characteristic appearance which does not lack a certain charm.

Among the sacred groves, some of which stand on the tallest hills, only eight or nine at most are known to have been used as royal burial grounds. The others mark the sites of former royal capitals and recall the successive moves occasioned by the numerous expeditions undertaken in certain reigns. They are referred to by the generic name of ibigabiro, or "places of distribution, " from the word kugabira, "to distribute" or "to offer as a gift. " As we can see, the term ibigabiro, or "places of distribution, " is quite suited etymologically to the tree clumps which mark the sites of the former royal dwellings, whose owners, by virtue of their absolute ownership and power, could mete out all sorts of favors to their subjects. It was only by extension that the same name was quite wrongly applied to the royal cemeteries. Indeed, custom does not allow the popular

778 and common terms *ikibira*, "cemetery," *imva* or "*igituro*, "grave,"
766 to be used in this connection. In certain parts of Ruanda, owing to
644 the respect with which the king is regarded and to the reverential fear
he inspires, the Blacks use another expression which is much more
accurate. One frequently hears them speak of *musezero* (*misezero* in
the plural), that is to say, the place where the monarch permanently
"took leave" of his subjects, from the verb *gusezera*, which means
"to take leave."

The word *umusezero* is now commonly used to mean "restricted place," "guarded place," because in summer when people set fire to the tall grass, they first clear the bush from the edges of the cemeteries to protect the royal graves from fire. /525/

2. Main Royal Cemeteries

766 It is at Gasseke in the Nduga, about four hours from the
Kabgayi mission in the northeast, that one of the first "sepulchral"
groves is found where a prince by the name of Chyilima was buried.

Two monarchs by this name are known. It was during the
173 reign of the more recent of the two that the famous migration into
643 Ruanda of the "Mutes," or "Foreign men with an incomprehensible
766 language," took place. According to tradition, the one with whom
778 we are dealing here was the brother and immediate successor of
Ruganzu I, surnamed Bwimba (1), who lived long before his illustrious

[644] 1. The natives relate that the mother of this Ruganzu late in life married one of her courtiers named Chenge, and Chyilima-Rugwe was born of this union. She did this to the great dissatisfaction of her eldest son, Ruganzu I, for it ran contrary to the custom which requires the queen mother to live solely with the reigning prince.

173 643 The term gisozi ("big hill") serves, as we have said, to designate the place where a king died.

766 778 It is the augmentative of the word musozi, which means "hill" and by extension "village." This term belongs to the /word/ class prefixed by the consonant ki.

This class includes nothing but words conveying the idea of majesty, fear, etc. /530/

There are numerous groves in this category, such as those of Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

In order to prove the truth of any pronouncement or assertion, the natives use the following phrase which alludes in metaphorical terms to the death of one or another of their sovereigns, Mb' ali jye wakuye [539] Lwogera i Kaganza!

"Let it be I ('if I do not speak the truth' being implied here) who tore (King) Lwogera away from Kaganza (name of the place where the king died)!"

[644] The reader must have noted that kings and queen mothers alone have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Mere wives were entitled to no special honors after their death. They were buried like common mortals. Queen mothers, that is to say, those who bore the heir to the throne and then reigned with him, were granted the same funerary honors as sovereigns.

173 644 766 778 Aside from the groves we have just described, there is also mention of one at Bugarama-Ntare (i Buhurura) not far from Rukoma. It is believed to be the spot where the undertakers fulfilled their usual functions at the death of a queen named Nyirakigeri. The sacred grove of Butare, which now only includes a few very old trees, is thought to be the place where Nyagihaga, daughter of Ruyenzi and mother of a Chyilima or Mutara died (1).

(1) The official chroniclers do provide a genealogical list of the kings of Ruanda, with the name of their mothers and of the clans to which the latter belonged, but this cannot be fully credited. We have

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> seen that the names of the
> first kings were pure fantasy.
> The chronological order of
> several others is lacking,
> and the chroniclers do not agree
> on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

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a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses, are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

[178] The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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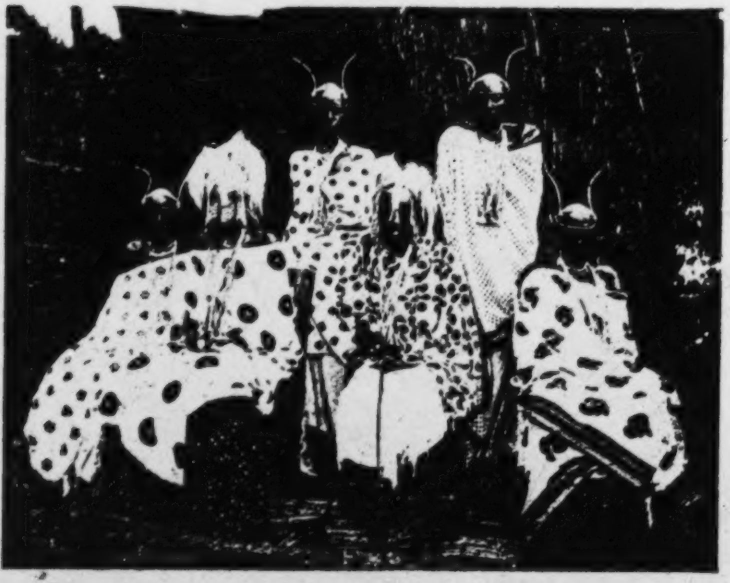

King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

614 grown sons are listed below them, and this shows that the average
621 size of a family with its servants is about six persons, three or four
592 of which occupy one hut. The number of huts is almost identical
423 with the number of women. It is very important to note that the
231 head of the Baishaza clan community, the mugabo, Ndiramiye, is
one of the poorest farmers on Katebe.

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Chapter 12

King and State

643 The King. The power of the king is the active factor in the
614 formation of the state in Ruanda which has influenced the passive
178 factor, clan organization. The entire state is nothing more than
642 the overgrown household of the king, into which all the Batutsi clans
were first drawn and then absorbed. As the imperial household grew, the Bahutu clans were likewise drawn into its sphere of influence. They underwent a process of disintegration and differentiation which is still going on. In fact, in the northern part of Ruanda the process is still in its beginning stages.

644 In speaking of the clan communities of Katebe and Kitebe in Bugoye, we mentioned the bagaragu (clients) who come from another district and attach themselves to the powerful in order to serve them and to get their living from them. Some among these hope to be granted a goat or even a cow. Among the clan elders, for example, Lukara, who enjoyed great influence in his clan, the number of these clients was large. He granted them parcels of land on which they could settle under his protection. The same thing goes on in the court of the king, with some modification and on a far greater scale. The king's bagaragu are not poor devils who have been exiled, but influential people with large retinues who in
642 turn have dependents and subdependents. In this respect the Ruanda
state is a pyramid with the king at the head and the free farm population without property at its base. In between are the high chiefs with their subchiefs as the organizing element that keeps the population in check.

643 Juhi Musinga, the ruler of Ruanda, was without doubt the most
648 powerful of the native potentates whom I had an opportunity to see

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This
command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that
those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on
the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my
journey (1907).

●644 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be
kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each
year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the
fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
[775] with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live
on as leopards after death.

A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be
643 the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the
578 successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the
country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between
the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the
regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

643 of the king who are recognized and fully qualified. The moment a
644 king has a son whom he recognizes, the queen mother is said to be
sent away. For this reason she brings all her influence to bear (and
this influence is, as a rule, very great) to prevent the king, as
long as possible, from recognizing any of his children as fully
qualified.

643 **Bagaragu**. The king is the owner of all the land and all the
423 cows in the country. He exercises his power by granting these
lands and recalling them when he is displeased. In this manner
the king appoints his officials who as such can be regarded as
temporary large landowners. The king keeps them in office and
on their land, but he can drive them out or increase their holdings
at any time.

643 The king is omnipotent. The only thing that does not yield to him is the physically impossible. Thus, for example, he can find no one who is inclined to settle as chief in Ndorwa, for this would be too dangerous in spite of the eventual help of the king.

661 An individual's power and possessions depend chiefly on the
favor of the king. This is the case to such an extent that even
643 the privileged must always remain in contact with the king or
558 even live at his court, otherwise they cannot hold on to their
success or their possessions. No matter how wealthy a man is, he
can lose everything if he has no allies and if someone more
fortunate succeeds in getting the king to withdraw his favor.

643 Every fortune hunter is surrounded by a number of clients who
dog his footsteps in the hope of participating in the successes of
644 their patron. One can judge the importance and the prospects of
the master by the number of these second-class fortune hunters who
often have to content themselves with nothing more than gifts of
milk from the king.

644 When I lived in Nyanza, I had an opportunity at eleven o'clock every morning to see the mighty ones, with a following of 50 to 60 men, march up to the king to give him a morning greeting. Among these were also completely impoverished [257] devils who, although they were marching up to the king as his bagaragu, had only one Muhutu in their retinue.

The most intimate associates of the king are his high chiefs. They are his clients (bagaragu). At the time of my visit in Nyanza

651 by their ancestors and from which they were not driven away during the conquest.

The second ancient burden is butaka. It is paid primarily in food and tobacco and only to a minor extent in cash hoe-money. The king's capital does not have any fields of its own. The court is fed by supplies delivered by subjects from near and distant provinces. Only cattle are pastured in the environs of the capital; there are no farmers who till land.

644 651 All the potentates living at court are fed from home. Bringing food for the chief residing at court is called kugemurira mutware. Food supplies are brought almost daily. As a result, any stoppage of this traffic means a food scarcity among the dignitaries thus affected. There are no markets where provisions could be obtained. Because of this primitive arrangement, food in the capital is always rather scarce, and everyone to whom I spoke about this told me that no one lives in the lap of luxury at court during his stay which is usually involuntary. The Batwa bodyguards even maintain that they actually starve and would very much like to return to their poor settlements.

To these two ancient tax burdens Lwabugiri added the war tax (umuheto) and Musinga the food supply tax (ilali) for visiting Europeans.

651 661 Among the Bahutu the furnishing of food supplies for visiting Europeans is merely an additional tax for the benefit of their chief. He regards the presents of the European as his property and not infrequently takes for himself part of the supplies brought by his people for the Europeans. I saw an example of this in Kwa Rutagungira. The requisition for my presence brought the chief three goats and four pots of beer, but I received only two pots and two goats. The larger pots and the best goats were put aside by the chief, but this was done too close to my camp to escape the notice of the people who were excited by the approaching pots of beer.

651 635 The collection of butaka and muheto, which are paid, theoretically at least, throughout the country, is distributed among various chiefs, as has already been reported by Von

805 In katumba the people begin burning off the grass on the
221 hills.

Most of the weddings take place in nseri, because much beer can be brewed in this month. For the same reason, most fights occur then.

132 There are three seasons in Kissaka.

805 [296] I. Itumba, the great rainy season extending from March to May.

II. Ichanda, the great dry season from June to October.

III. Ruhira, the secondary rainy season from November to January and sometimes February.

The secondary dry season in February does not seem to have a special name.

805 Father C. Lecoindre told me that he had the impression there were 13 months in the Ruanda year and pointed out that on my list the month of kashantare between mutarama and werurwe was not shown.

The art of chronology is only slightly developed in Ruanda, and the Bahutu seem essentially to know only the periods for certain field chores, to which they give special names, for example:

Itumba ya massaka (in the autumn),
Itumba lyi bishimbo,

or solar time:

Rugaryi (little sun),
Itsi (big sun).

● 644 On the other hand, life in Musinga's royal residence, at
805 least the arrival of fresh drum guards with the new moon, is regulated by the lunar division of the year, and Father C. Lecoindre's observation seems to have many points in its favor. For example, it is said that at the court of the king there is mourning during the
[834] first half of the month kichurasi. During this time men allegedly have no sexual intercourse with women. The drums at the king's court are beaten only once around 11 o'clock to greet (ndamutsu) the king; they are said to be tied up (kuzirika). The Batwa do not entertain the king with their songs during the evening gatherings. The king pronounces no sentences and accepts no presents. At ordinary law proceedings the victorious party neither sings his song

644 of praise nor boasts about his deeds and the number of enemies
805 he has slain. During kichurasi they content themselves with simple clapping (kukoma mukono). People do not wear their better
clothing or ornaments. Even the bulls are removed from the
[783] herds. All life that has its beginning during this period is regarded as unclean and is killed.

The period of mourning ends with the kichurasi full moon.
[533] They begin to beat the drums, very softly and very little on the first day, somewhat more on the second, until on the third day the regular beating is resumed. On the eleventh day the chiefs bring the king presents, get drunk on beer, and sacrifice sterile cows.

796 The end of the month of kichurasi is celebrated with a great
feast for which the ntore gather at court. The feast is called
644 kukura kichurasi. [297] I could not determine whether this feast has any connection with the myth about the redeemer (mutabazi).

This is the time of the great ceremonies of the babandwa and of sacrifices (kuterekera).

805 The lunar month is divided up according to the phases of the moon. Thus they speak of: imboneko, "emerging moon"; kwezi, "waxing moon"; inzoro, "full moon"; mizima, "waning moon"; imfunda, "disappearing moon." These designations, however, do not correspond to the weeks. The weeks have five to six days and are determined by the relationship of free days to compulsory work days.

[298] Chapter 15

Religion and Related Matters

771 Ancestor Worship. The religious views of the Banyaruanda do not fit into a compact, harmonious system. This is probably due not only to the low level of development of their religion, but also to the dissimilarity of the Batutsi and Bahutu cultures which have influenced each other.

769 Ancestor worship is the basis of religious beliefs in Ruanda
171 as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine region.

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed 000 651
taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and
the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state [655]
work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he 643
took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he 262
generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, [273]
when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge,
but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal
he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people [178]
were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which
would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after
eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused
and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon [644]
him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any
meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls 644
being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite
of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women
were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who
told them whether they were going to bear children and took [787]
auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future
king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when 643
he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner
with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern
different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his [762]
life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated 643
over the country. There was no rule against naming the king 766
after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The
whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from
women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, [231]
goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for
this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared
with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other
times. One cow was killed when the king died. [782]

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 766 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for [782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 721 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

● 644 766 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

FOOD

262 234 THE Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or [302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

534 A chief wore two beads on each side of his head, but he
782 did not possess a drum and only used one when it was
634 necessary to propitiate some ghost which was troubling him.
[301] A drum was given to him for this special purpose, and he
took it to his kraal, where he beat it for the benefit of the
ghost.

● [644] When saluting the king, the people knelt and clapped their hands.

There was always dancing at new moon, which was accom-
534 panied by singing, by the music of the royal band, and by bells.
[535] The musical instruments consisted of drums and the horns
of animals through which the musicians blew, while some
members of the band had bells on their legs which sounded
as they stamped to mark the rhythm.

Adoption

A man who had no son might adopt the child of some
597 relative without any ceremony, but, as a man might take as
many wives as he wished, it was not often that a husband
was left without a son. If a boy who had been adopted
committed some misdeed for which he was cast off by his new
parents, his own parents would not take him back. He had
to find means of atoning for his fault and gaining the forgiveness of his adopted parents.

597 If a man adopted a boy from a clan other than his own,
614 he took him to the fireplace, dropped some millet into the fire
and said, "This is my own son and when I am dead he will
attend to my needs." A woman naturally did not welcome
[578] an adopted son, for he was a standing rebuke to her.

Slaves

567 There were several classes of slaves:

(1) The conquered aborigines of the land who were really free but were regarded by the upper classes as slaves inasmuch as they did menial work for them.

(2) Household slaves. These were mostly women from among the free people who engaged of their own will in this

[Text continues on page 195]

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Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

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[437]
[439]
Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

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[174]
The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

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[433]
The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet. The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[28] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

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[28] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.

PLATE 4

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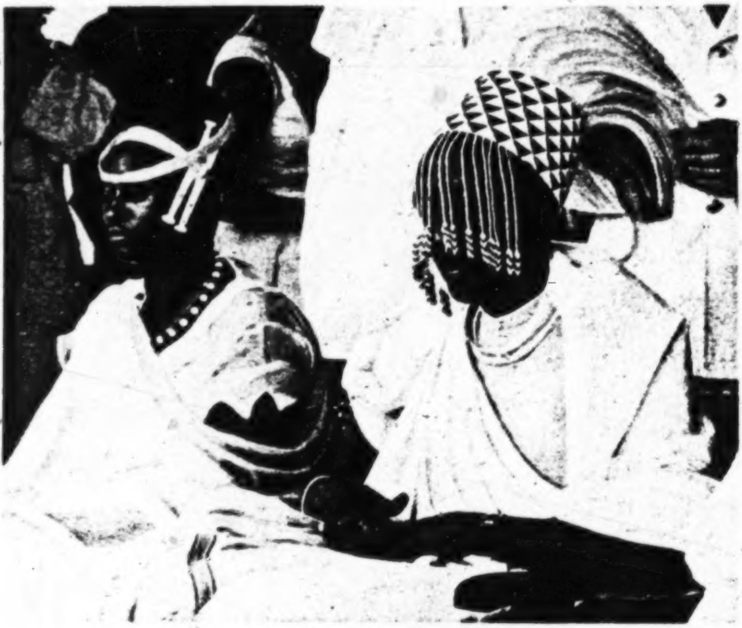

The queen-mother, Radegonde Nyiramavugo

[Facing P. 119]

643 534 The symbol of kingship was Kalinga, the sacred drum. To possess this drum meant to be king. Kalinga was regularly sprinkled with the blood of the animals used for divination. Around Kalinga were hung the genitals of Ruanda enemies killed by the bami. Kalinga was never beaten but other drums were beaten in its honour as they were beaten for the king.[88]

(*b*) *The queen-mother*

644 It was essential that the role of queen-mother (*umugabekasi*) should always be fulfilled. If the mwami's mother's death occurred when her son was still living, he had to be given another 'mother'. The queen-mother had no special task, but she shared the royal prerogatives. She lived at the king's capital where she had her own court, and her protection was eagerly sought. She had herds of cattle and clients. But her role should not be regarded as independent of that of the king.

It can be said that the same kingship was realized by two persons at the same time, without any division of responsibilities or privileges. This was expressed by the term often used to designate together the mwami and his mother: the kings (*abami*). In that partnership the king, however, kept a predominant position: when he died, his mother completely lost her powers.

(*c*) *The biru*

645 [793] [796] The *biru* did not constitute a council or a board. They were dignitaries with different tasks and very strictly ranked in a fixed hierarchy. Their activities, however, in common were concerned with the preservation of ritual knowledge and the accomplishment of ceremonies essential to the existence of Ruanda and its government. This knowledge and activities were kept secret from everybody who was not a *mwiru* (singular of *biru*).

[643] *Biru* were under the king's authority in the sense that he could create new offices of *mwiru* and he could dismiss one of them who had been disloyal. The royal control was limited to this. It was really the minimum without which *biru* would have been completely independent of the mwami. The offices were hereditary and even when a *mwiru* had been dismissed one of his sons succeeded him. As we have seen previously, their domains were exempt from any interference of the land- or cattle-chief.

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[88] Vanhove, 1941, pp. 88 f. See the series of photographs in Maquet, 1957.

564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming
farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from
social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8]
With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers
and that people need the pots that they make.

It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to
564 differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social
613 distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*,
patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical
order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among
patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor
bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social
superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least
four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied
with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly
superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the
other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the
higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the
inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to
the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without
exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
● 644 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
582 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
613 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through
643 such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the
mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the
queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country,
the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial
presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special
funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the
remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a
very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply